ΔΙΗΓΗΣΙΣ ΤΟΥ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ

Αρ. εισ. 6025

Κεντρική πώληση: Διεθνὲς Βιβλιοπωλεῖον «Προμηθεύς», Ι. Μιχαλόπουλος & υἱός, Ἑρμοῦ 75, Θεσσαλονίκη

ΒΥΖΑΝΤΙΝΗ ΚΑΙ ΝΕΟΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΗ ΒΙΒΛΙΟΘΗΚΗ

1

ΔΙΗΓΗΣΙΣ ΤΟΥ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ
THE TALE OF ALEXANDER
THE RHYMED VERSION

CRITICAL EDITION WITH AN INTRODUCTION
AND COMMENTARY

BY
DAVID HOLTON



ΘΕΣΣΑΛΟΝΙΚΗ 1974

'Η σειρὰ τῆς Βυζαντινης και Νεοελληνικης Βιβλιοθηκης ἐκδίδεται
μὲ τὴ χορηγία τοῦ 'Ιδρύματος Ford (Νέα 'Υόρκη)

Τὸ πρῶτο αὐτὸ ἔργο
τῆς Βυζαντινης και Νεοελληνικης Βιβλιοθηκης
ἀφιερώνεται εὐλαβικὰ στὴ μνήμη τοῦ
ΓΙΩΡΓΟΥ ΣΕΦΕΡΗ

. . . γύρευαν τὸ Μεγαλέξαντρο
καὶ δόξες βυθισμένες στὰ βάθη τῆς 'Ασίας

ΠΡΟΛΟΓΟΣ ΤΗΣ ΕΚΔΟΤΙΚΗΣ ΕΠΙΤΡΟΠΗΣ

Τὸν Ἰούνιο τοῦ 1971 οἱ Ι. Θ. Κακριδῆς, Λ. Πολίτης, ὁμότιμοι καθηγητὲς τοῦ Πανεπιστημίου Θεσσαλονίκης, καὶ Μ. Παπαθωμόπουλος, καθηγητὴς τοῦ Πανεπιστημίου Ἰωαννίνων, ὕστερ' ἀπὸ συζητήσεις ποὺ εἶχαν προηγηθῆ γιὰ τὴν ἀνάγκη νὰ ὑπάρχουν κριτικὲς ἐκδόσεις τῆς παλαιότερης λογοτεχνίας μας, ἀποφάσισαν νὰ ἱδρύσουν ἕναν μικρὸ ὅμιλο γιὰ τὴν ἐπιδίωξη τοῦ σκοποῦ αὐτοῦ. Παρακάλεσαν καὶ τὸν Γιῶργο Σεφέρη νὰ συμμετάσχη στὸν ὅμιλο αὐτόν, ὁ ὁποῖος δέχτηκε πρόθυμα, καὶ στὶς 15 Ἰουνίου ὑπογράφηκε ἕνα ἀνεπίσημο ἱδρυτικὸ τοῦ ὁμίλου αὐτοῦ μὲ τὶς ὑπογραφὲς τῶν τεσσάρων μελῶν. Ἔτσι γεννήθηκε ἡ «Βυζαντινὴ καὶ Νεοελληνικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη», ποὺ παραδίδει σήμερα στὴ δημοσιότητα τὸ πρῶτο ἔργο τῆς σειρᾶς. Λίγους μῆνες μετὰ τὴν ὑπογραφὴ τοῦ ἱδρυτικοῦ, τὸν Σεπτέμβριο τοῦ 1971, τὰ ἑλληνικὰ γράμματα ἔχασαν τὸν Γιῶργο Σεφέρη. Ἀργότερα ἡ Ἐπιτροπὴ συμπληρώθηκε μὲ τὸν Ν. Μ. Παναγιωτάκη, καθηγητὴ τοῦ Πανεπιστημίου Ἰωαννίνων.

Ἡ σειρὰ τῆς «Βυζαντινῆς καὶ Νεοελληνικῆς Βιβλιοθήκης» προγραμματίστηκε νὰ περιλαμβάνη ἔργα τῆς παλαιότερης λογοτεχνίας μας, ποιητικὰ ἢ πεζὰ (μόνο λογοτεχνικά), τῶν βυζαντινῶν καὶ τῶν μετὰ τὴν Ἅλωση χρόνων, ἀπὸ τὸν 11ο ἕως τὸν 17ο αἰώνα. Σὲ μερικὲς περιπτώσεις, ἂν θεωρηθῆ σκόπιμο, μποροῦν νὰ συμπεριληφθοῦν καὶ ἔργα τοῦ 18ου αἰώνα. Οἱ ἐκδόσεις θὰ εἶναι αὐστηρὰ κριτικὲς καὶ φιλολογικές, καμωμένες ἀπὸ δόκιμους φιλολόγους ἢ καὶ ἀπὸ νεώτερους ἐπιστήμονες ὑπὸ τὴν ἄμεση καθοδήγηση ἑνὸς ἀπὸ τὰ μέλη τῆς Ἐπιτροπῆς. Κάθε τόμος θὰ περιλαμβάνη τὸ ἐκδιδόμενο ἔργο, κριτικὰ ἀποκατεστημένο, ἀναλυτικὴ εἰσαγωγή, σημειώσεις, κριτικὲς ἢ πραγματολογικές, καθὼς καὶ ἑρμηνευτικὸ γλωσσάριο καὶ πίνακα ὀνομάτων καὶ πραγμάτων.

Ἐλπίζουμε ὅτι ἡ σειρὰ τῆς Β.Ν.Β ἔρχεται νὰ συμπληρώση ἕνα κενὸ ποὺ ἔχει γίνει ἀπὸ καιρὸ αἰσθητό. Τὰ παλαιότερα αὐτὰ κείμενα, ποὺ χρησιμοποιοῦν ὅλα τὴν κοινή, «δημώδη» γλώσσα καὶ τὴν ἀνυψώνουν σὲ ὄργανο λογοτεχνικό, μπορεῖ νὰ μὴν εἶναι ὅλα ποιητικὰ ἀριστουργήματα, ἀνήκουν ὅμως ἀναμφισβήτητα στὴ νέα ἑλληνικὴ λογοτεχνία καὶ ἀποτελοῦν, γιὰ τὸ λόγο αὐτόν, μέρος τῆς πνευματικῆς μας παράδοσης καὶ τῆς ἐθνικῆς κληρονομιᾶς. Μνημεῖα τῆς ὁμιλούμενης γλώσσας σὲ κάθε ἐποχή, ἀποτελοῦν καὶ ἀπὸ αὐτὴ τὴν ἄποψη τεκμήρια

πολύτιμα τῆς ἱστορίας τῆς ἑλληνικῆς λαλιᾶς, ποὺ εἶναι, ὅπως εἶπε ὁ Κοραῆς, «ἓν ἀπὸ τὰ πλέον ἀναπαλλοτρίωτα τοῦ ἔθνους κτήματα». Τὸ ἐνδιαφέρον ποὺ προκαλοῦν δὲν εἶναι ὡστόσο μόνο στενὰ ἐπιστημονικό, γλωσσικὸ καὶ γραμματολογικό. Σὰν ἔργα λογοτεχνικά, ὅποια κι ἂν εἶναι ἡ ποιότητά τους, ἀπευθύνονταν σ' ἕνα εὐρύτερο κοινό, καὶ μποροῦν γι' αὐτὸ νὰ συγκινήσουν καὶ σήμερα ἢ ἔστω νὰ κινήσουν τὸ ἐνδιαφέρον ἑνὸς κοινοῦ πέρα ἀπὸ τὸ στενὰ ἐπιστημονικό. Ἡ φιλοδοξία τῆς «Βυζαντινῆς καὶ Νεοελληνικῆς Βιβλιοθήκης» εἶναι νὰ προσφέρῃ τὰ δημιουργήματα αὐτὰ τῆς παλαιότερης φάσης τῆς λογοτεχνίας μας στὸ μεγάλο μορφωμένο κοινὸ καὶ νὰ συντελέσῃ ἔτσι, κατὰ ἕνα ποσοστό, στὴν ἱστορική μας αὐτογνωσία, ποὺ ἡ ἀνάγκη της ἔχει τονιστῆ ἀπὸ πολλὲς πλευρές.

Τὸ πρῶτο ἔργο τῆς σειρᾶς εἶναι ἡ ὁμοιοκατάληκτη διασκευὴ τῆς *Διήγησης τοῦ Ἀλέξανδρου*, ἑνὸς ἔργου ποὺ εἶχε, ἀπὸ τὴν πρώτη του ἔκδοση τὸ 1529, εὐρύτατη διάδοση καὶ συνετέλεσε στὴ δημιουργία τοῦ μύθου τοῦ Μεγαλέξαντρου στὸν ἑλληνικὸ λαὸ κατὰ τὰ χρόνια τῆς Τουρκοκρατίας. Ἡ κριτική του ἔκδοση ὀφείλεται στὸν νέο φιλόλογο, διδάκτορα τοῦ Πανεπιστημίου τῆς Ὀξφόρδης, κ. David Holton, ποὺ ἀνήκει σὲ μιὰ ὁμάδα νέων Ἄγγλων φιλολόγων ποὺ ἀσχολοῦνται γόνιμα μὲ τὴ νεοελληνικὴ φιλολογία. Ὁ κ. Holton παρέμεινε κατὰ τὸ ἀκαδημαϊκὸ ἔτος 1971-72 ὡς ὑπότροφος στὸ Πανεπιστήμιο Θεσσαλονίκης, καὶ ἀπὸ τὸν Ὀκτώβριο τοῦ 1972 εἶναι ἐπιστημονικὸς συνεργάτης στὸ νεοελληνικὸ τμῆμα τοῦ Πανεπιστημίου τοῦ Birmingham.

Τὸ δεύτερο ἔργο τῆς Βιβλιοθήκης θὰ εἶναι ἡ *Πανώρια* (*Γύπαρης*) τοῦ Γεωργίου Χορτάτση, σὲ νέα κριτικὴ ἔκδοση ἀπὸ τὸν καθηγητὴ Ε. Κριαρᾶ. Καὶ θὰ ἀκολουθήσῃ ὡς τρίτο ἡ κωμωδία *Στάθης*, τοῦ κρητικοῦ θεάτρου, ἔκδοση τῆς δ. Lidia Martini, διδάκτορος τοῦ Πανεπιστημίου τῆς Πάντοβας.

Ἡ πραγματοποίηση τῆς B.N.B. γίνεται δυνατὴ μὲ τὴ γενναία χορηγία τοῦ Ἱδρύματος Ford. Πρὸς τὸ Τμῆμα ἀνθρωπιστικῶν σπουδῶν καὶ τεχνῶν (Division of Humanities and the Arts) καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἀντιπρόεδρο τοῦ Ἱδρύματος κ. W. McNeil Lowry ἐκφράζουμε τὴ βαθύτατη εὐγνωμοσύνη μας, καθὼς καὶ πρὸς τὴ Διεύθυνση τῆς Ἀμερικανικῆς Σχολῆς Κλασικῶν Σπουδῶν τῶν Ἀθηνῶν, μέσῳ τῆς ὁποίας ἔγινε ἡ ἐπιχορήγηση.

PREFACE

This study, which was originally submitted as a doctoral thesis and accepted by the University of Oxford in August 1971, attempts to cover in some detail a little-known version of the Alexander Romance in modern Greek. As the main purpose of the present publication is to acquaint the reader with a text that has hitherto been printed only in Venetian chapbooks (the last dated 1805), a considerable part of the original thesis has been removed, notably from the chapters on the sources and language of the poem and from the commentary. A few other necessary improvements and corrections have also been introduced.

It is my pleasant duty to record here my indebtedness to a number of scholars who have aided me in my work. First and foremost I am deeply grateful to Professor K. Mitsakis, who first aroused my interest in the fascinating subject of the Alexander Romance, and who has since followed the course of my researches with keen interest and given me the benefit of much helpful advice and criticism. Dr. R. A. Fletcher has been a continual source of advice and encouragement. Professor Enrica Follieri, Mr. and Mrs. M. Jeffreys, Mr. Dinos Konomos, Dr. G. Ploumidis and Mr. H. Stephen-Davies have kindly provided information of various kinds in answer to my requests. Mr. P. Karagiorgos has translated the abstract of the study into Greek.

Since its submission as a thesis Professor E. Kriaras has read through the whole text and, despite his many other commitments, has generously devoted a great deal of his time to advising me on aspects of the editing of early modern Greek texts. I am also grateful to Professor N. M. Panagiotakis for suggesting many valuable improvements and corrections. Finally I am indebted to Professor L. Politis for much further advice and criticism and for accepting the study for publication in this series of Medieval and Modern Greek texts.

Thessaloniki, July 1972 **DAVID HOLTON**

CONTENTS

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Versions of the Alexander Romance and related texts:

A	W. Kroll, *Historia Alexandri Magni (Pseudo - Callisthenes), Volumen I, Recensio vetusta,* Berlin, 1926 (reprinted 1958).
β (mss B,M,F,K,V,L)	L. Bergson, *Der griechische Alexander-roman, Rezension β,* Uppsala, 1965.
γ (mss R,D,C)	U. von Lauenstein - H. Engelmann - F. Parthe, *Der griechische Alexander-roman, Rezension γ,* 3 vols., Meisenheim am Glan, 1962-9.
λ (mss O,W,H,N,B)	H. van Thiel, *Die Rezension λ des Pseudo - Kallisthenes,* Bonn, 1959.
Arm.	R. Raabe, *'Ιστορία Ἀλεξάνδρου, die armenische Übersetzung der sagenhaften Alexander - Biographie (Pseudo-Callisthenes) auf ihre mutmasslichen Grundlagen zurückgeführt,* Leipzig, 1896.
	A. M. Wolohojan, *The Romance of Alexander the Great by Pseudo - Callisthenes translated from the Armenian version with an Introduction,* New York, 1969.
Val.	B. Kübler, *Iulii Valerii Alexandri Polemi res gestae Alexandri Macedonis,* Leipzig, 1888.
Epist.	(Epistola Alexandri ad Aristotelem) B. Kübler, *ibid.* pp. 190-221.
Leo	F. Pfister, *Der Alexanderroman des Archipresbyters Leo* (= *Sammlung mittellat. Texte* VI), Heidelberg, 1913.
Epit.	P. H. Thomas, *Incerti auctoris epitoma rerum gestarum Alexandri Magni cum libro de morte testamentoque Alexandri,* Leipzig, 1966.
Barb.	(Excerpta Barbara Latina) C. Frick, *Chronica Minora I,* Leipzig, 1892, pp. 183-370.
Syr.	E. A. Wallis Budge, *The History of Alexander the Great, being the Syriac Version of the Pseudo - Callisthenes,* Cambridge, 1889.
Eth.	E. A. Wallis Budge, *The Life and Exploits of Alexander the Great being a series of Ethiopic texts,* 2 vols., London, 1896.
Byz.	S. Reichmann, *Das byzantinische Alexandergedicht, nach dem Codex Marcianus 408 herausgegeben,* Meisenheim am Glan, 1963.
late-Byz. A	A. Wesselovsky, «Die Wunderepisode der mittelgriechischen Alexandreis», *Archiv für slavische Philologie* 11, 1888, 327-343.

late-Byz. G	Κ. Μητσάκης, «Διήγησις περὶ τοῦ 'Αλεξάνδρου καὶ τῶν μεγάλων πολέμων», *BNJ* 20, 1968, 228-302.
late-Byz. H	K. Mitsakis, *Der byzantinische Alexanderroman nach dem Codex Vindob. Theol. Gr. 244* (*Miscellanea Byzantina Monacensia* 7), Munich, 1967.
Phyllada	Α. Α. Πάλλης, *'Η φυλλάδα τοῦ Μεγαλέξαντρου*, Athens, 1935 (reprinted 1961, 1968).
Rimada	*Γέννησις, κατορθώματα καὶ θάνατος 'Αλεξάνδρου τοῦ Μακεδόνος διὰ στίχου.*

Other abbreviations used:

Achel.	H. Pernot, *P. Gentil de Vendosme et Antoine Achélis, Le siège de Malte par les Turcs en 1565* (*Coll. de mon.* 3e série, 2), Paris, 1910.
Achill.	D. C. Hesseling, *L'Achilléide byzantine, publiée avec une introduction, des observations et un index*, Amsterdam, 1919.
AG	Ancient Greek.
AJP	*American Journal of Philology.*
Alosis Konst.	('Εμμανουὴλ Γεωργιλλᾶ, Θρῆνος τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως) G. Wagner, *Medieval Greek Texts*, Part 1, London, 1870, 141-170.
Andriotis Lex.	Ν. Π. 'Ανδριώτης, *'Ετυμολογικὸ Λεξικὸ τῆς κοινῆς νεοελληνικῆς* (second edition), Thessaloniki, 1967.
Apokop.	Στ. 'Αλεξίου, «'Απόκοπος», *Kr. Chron.* 17, 1963, 183-251.
Anth. Char.	E. Kakoulidi, «Fior di Virtù - "Ανθος Χαρίτων», *Ell.* 24, 1971, 267-311.
Ath.	*'Αθηνᾶ.*
Batrach	F. Mullach, *Demetrii Zeni Paraphrasis Batrachomyomachiae vulgari Graecorum sermone scripta*, Berlin, 1837.
BBA	*Berliner Byzantinistische Arbeiten.*
Belis.	R. Cantarella, «La Διήγησις ὡραιοτάτη τοῦ θαυμαστοῦ ἐκείνου τοῦ λεγομένου Βελισαρίου (di anonimo autore), Testo critico, con una Appendice: Sulla fortuna della leggenda di Belisario», *Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici* 4, 1935, 153-202.
Belis. (Georg.)	('Ιστορικὴ 'Εξήγησις περὶ Βελισαρίου) *CGMA*, 322-347.
Belth.	(Βέλθανδρος καὶ Χρυσάντζα) É. Legrand, *Bibliothèque grecque vulgaire*, vol. 1, Paris, 1880.
BH XV/XVI	É. Legrand, *Bibliographie hellénique ou description raisonnée des ouvrages publiés en grec par des grecs aux XVe et XVIe siècles*, 4 vols., Paris, 1885-1906.
BH XVII	É. Legrand, *Bibliographie hellénique ou description raisonnée des ouvrages publiés par des grecs au dix-septième siècle*, 2 vols., Paris, 1894.
BI	É. Legrand - H. Pernot, *Bibliographie Ionienne. Description raisonnée des ouvrages publiés par les grecs des Sept-Iles ou concernant les Iles du quinzième siècle à l'année 1900*, 2 vols., Paris, 1910.

Blass - Debrunner	F. Blass, *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch*, bearb. von A. Debrunner, Göttingen, 1959 (reprint).
BNJ	*Byzantinisch-Neugriechische Jahrbücher.*
Boun. Kr. Pol.	(Ζάνες Μαρίνος Μπουνιαλῆς) Α. Ξηρουχάκης, *'Ο κρητικὸς πόλεμος, 1645-1669, ἢ συλλογὴ τῶν ἑλληνικῶν ποιημάτων 'Ανθίμου Διακρούση, Μαρίνου Ζάνε*, Trieste, 1908.
BZ	*Byzantinische Zeitschrift.*
Cacav.	F. H. Marshall, *The Siege of Vienna by the Turks in 1683. Translated into Greek from an Italian work published anonymously in the year of the siege by Jeremias Cacavelas*, Cambridge, 1925.
Call.	M. Pichard, *Le roman de Callimaque et Chrysorrhoé* (*Collection byzantine publiée sous le patronage de l'Association Guillaume Budé*), Paris, 1956.
CGMA	Guilielmus Wagner, *Carmina Graeca Medii Aevi*, Leipzig, 1874.
Chasis	*'Ο Χάσης. Κωμωδία ποιηθεῖσα τῷ 1786 ὑπὸ Δημητρίου Γουζέλλη Ζακυνθίου κατὰ τὸν τότε ζακύνθιον ἰδιωτισμόν*, Zakynthos, 1860.
Choumnos M	F. H. Marshall, *Old Testament Legends from a Greek Poem on Genesis and Exodus by Georgios Choumnos*, Cambridge, 1925.
Choumnos ms	Mss. British Museum Addit. 40724, and Sinaiticus 1187 (the numbering is that of F. H. Marshall, *Glossaries to the Greek Translation of Boccaccio's Teseide and to the Poem of Georgios Choumnos on Genesis and Exodus* [unpublished, mimeographed]).
Chron. Mor.	J. Schmitt, *The Chronicle of Morea. Τὸ Χρονικὸν τοῦ Μορέως, edited in two Parallel Texts from the Mss of Copenhagen and Paris*, London, 1904.
Chron. Turc.	Γ. Ζώρας, *Χρονικὸν περὶ τῶν Τούρκων σουλτάνων (κατὰ τὸν Βαρβερινὸν ἑλληνικὸν κώδικα 111), (Σπουδαστήριον βυζ. καὶ νεοελλ. φιλολ. Πανεπ. 'Αθηνῶν)*, Athens, 1958.
Cor. Pret.	*Introduttorio nuovo intitolato Corona Preciosa compilato per lo ingenioso huomo Stephano da Sabio*, Venice, 1527.
Cypr. Erot.	Th. Siapkaras - Pitsillidès, *Le Pétrarquisme en Chypre, poèmes d'amour en dialecte chypriote d'après un manuscrit du XVIe siècle*, Athens, 1952.
Def. Log. Did.	(Λόγοι διδακτικοὶ τοῦ πατρὸς πρὸς τὸν υἱὸν) S. Karaiskaki, «Das Lehrgedicht von Markos Depharanas», *Λαογραφία* 11, 1934-37, 1-66.
Def. Sus.	(Μάρκου Δεφαράνα, 'Ιστορία ἐκ τῶν τοῦ Δανιὴλ περὶ τῆς Σωσάννης) É. Legrand, *Bibliothèque grecque vulgaire*, vol. 1, Paris, 1880, 269-280.
Dellap.	(Λεονάρδος Ντελλαπόρτας) Λ. Πολίτης, *Ποιητικὴ 'Ανθολογία. Βιβλίο πρῶτο, Πρὶν ἀπὸ τὴν "Αλωση*, Athens, 1967, pp. 168-171.

Dem. Byz. Asma — A. Παπαδόπουλος - Κεραμεύς, «Δημῶδες βυζαντινὸν ᾆσμα αἰνιγματῶδες ἐπιτιθέμενον διηγηματικῶς παραβολήν τινα», *Λαογραφία* 1, 1909, 567-573.

Dig. Akr. (A) — Π. Καλονάρος, *Βασίλειος Διγενὴς Ἀκρίτας. Τὰ ἔμμετρα κείμενα Ἀθηνῶν, Κρυπτοφέρρης καὶ Ἐσκοριάλ*, vol. 1, Athens, 1941.

Dig. Akr. (E) — Π. Καλονάρος, *ibid.*, vol. 2, 127-200.

Dig. Akr. (G) — J. Mavrogordato, *Digenes Akrites, edited with an Introduction, Translation and Commentary*, Oxford, 1956.

Dig. Akr. (O) — Sp. Lambros, *Collection de romans grecs en langue vulgaire et en vers*, Paris, 1880, 111-237.

Dig. Akr. (T) — C. Sathas - É. Legrand, *Les exploits de Digénis Akritas. Epopée byzantine du dixième siècle, publiée pour la première fois d'après le manuscrit unique de Trébizonde* (*Coll. de mon.* nouvelle série 6), Paris - Athens, 1875.

dim. — diminutive.

Dimitrakos Lex. — Δ. Δημητρᾶκος, *Μέγα Λεξικὸν ὅλης τῆς ἑλληνικῆς γλώσσης*, vol. I-IX, Athens, 1958.

Du Cange — Carolus du Fresne du Cange, *Glossarium ad scriptores mediae et infimae graecitatis duos in tomos digestum*, Leyden, 1688 (reprinted 1891).

E — Epilogue of the *Rimada*.

EEBΣ — *Ἐπετηρὶς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν.*

Einl. — G. Chatzidakis, *Einleitung in die neugriechische Grammatik*, Leipzig, 1892.

Ell. — *Ἑλληνικά.*

Ermon. — É. Legrand, *La guerre de Troie, poème du XIVe siècle en vers octosyllabes par Constantin Hermoniacos, publié d'après les manuscrits de Leyden et de Paris* (*Bibliothèque grecque vulgaire*, vol. 5), Paris, 1890, 1-443.

Erof. — Στ. Ξανθουδίδης, *Ἐρωφίλη, τραγῳδία Γεωργίου Χορτάτζη (1600) ἐκδιδομένη ἐκ τῶν ἀρίστων πηγῶν μετ' εἰσαγωγῆς καὶ λεξιλογίου* (*Texte und Forschungen zur byz. - neugr. Philologie*, 9), Athens, 1928.

Erot. — Στ. Ξανθουδίδης, *Ἐρωτόκριτος. Ἔκδοσις κριτική*, Iraklion, 1915.

Erot. Gloss. — Pp. 477-744 of the preceding.

Fal. Erot. Enypn. — (Ἐρωτικὸν Ἐνύπνιον) Γ. Θ. Ζώρας, «Ὁ ποιητὴς Μαρῖνος Φαλιέρος», *Kr. Chron.* 2, 1948, 7-46.

Flor. — D. C. Hesseling, *Le roman de Phlorios et Platziaphlore, publié avec une introduction, des observations et un index*, Amsterdam, 1917.

Fortun. — Στ. Ξανθουδίδης, *Μάρκου Ἀντωνίου Φωσκόλου (1669) Φορτουνᾶτος*, Athens, 1922.

Fortun. interm. — (Ἰντερμέδια) pp. 183-218 of the preceding.

Gad. — Λ. Ἀλεξίου, «Ἡ φυλλάδα τοῦ γαδάρου, ἤτοι γαδάρου, λύκου καὶ ἀλουποῦς διήγησις ὡραία», *Kr. Chron.* 9, 1955, 81-118.

Georg. Than. — (Τὸ θανατικὸν τῆς Ρόδου) *CGMA*, 32-52.

Ger. Kor. — (Περὶ γέροντος νὰ μὴν πάρῃ κορίτσι) *CGMA*, 106-111.

Gramm. Dem. — [Μ. Τριανταφυλλίδης], *Νεοελληνικὴ Γραμματικὴ* (*τῆς Δημοτικῆς*), (*Ὀργαν. ἐκδ. σχολικῶν βιβλίων*), Athens, 1941.

Hist. Lex. — *Ἱστορικὸν Λεξικὸν τῆς νέας ἑλληνικῆς, τῆς τε κοινῶς ὁμιλουμένης καὶ τῶν ἰδιωμάτων* (*Ἀκαδημία Ἀθηνῶν*), τόμ. Α'-Δ', τεῦχ. α' (α - γάργαρος), Athens, 1933-1953.

Imb. — (Διήγησις ἐξαίρετος, ἐρωτικὴ καὶ ξένη τοῦ Ἰμπερίου Θαυμαστοῦ καὶ κόρης Μαργαρώνας) Ε. Κριαρᾶς, *Βυζαντινὰ ἱπποτικὰ μυθιστορήματα* (*Βασικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη* 2), Athens, 1955.

Jannaris — A.N. Jannaris, *An Historical Greek Grammar, chiefly of the Attic Dialect*, Oxford, 1897.

JÖB — *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik*

Kartanos — (Ἰωαννίκιος Καρτάνος) *Τὸ παρὸν βιβλίον ἔναι Ἡ παλαιά τε καὶ νέα διαθήκη, ἤτοι τὸ ἄνθος καὶ ἀναγγαῖον* [sic] *αὐτῆς*, Venice, 1567.

Katsaïtis — Ε. Κριαρᾶς, *Κατσαΐτης: Ἰφιγένεια, Θυέστης, Κλαθμὸς Πελοποννήσου, ἀνέκδοτα ἔργα Κριτικὴ ἔκδοση*, Athens, 1950.

Katz. — Λ. Πολίτης, *Γεωργίου Χορτάτση, Κατζοῦρμπος, κωμῳδία. Κριτικὴ ἔκδοση, σημειώσεις, γλωσσάριο*, Iraklion, 1964.

Komoutos — Ντ. Κονόμος, «Ἀνέκδοτη συλλογὴ παροιμιῶν κ.λ.π. τοῦ Ἀντ. Κομούτου», *Ἑπτανησιακὰ Φύλλα*, October 1956, 9-22.

Konomos Lex. — Ντ. Κονόμος, *Ζακυθινὸ λεξιλόγιο* (*Ζακυθινὴ Βιβλιοθήκη* 1) Athens, 1960.

Koron. — (Τζάνες Κορωναῖος) Κ. Ν. Σάθας, *Ἑλληνικὰ ἀνέκδοτα* Α', Athens, 1867, 1-153.

Kr. Akath. — Κ. Μητσάκης, «Ἕνας λαϊκὸς κρητικὸς Ἀκάθιστος τοῦ ΙΕ' αἰώνα», *Βυζαντινὰ* 1, 1969, 24-38.

Kr. Chron. — *Κρητικὰ Χρονικά.*

Kriaras Lex. — Ε. Κριαρᾶς, *Λεξικὸ τῆς μεσαιωνικῆς ἑλληνικῆς δημώδους γραμματείας 1100-1669*, τόμ. Α'-Β', Thessaloniki, 1968-71.

Kr. interm. — Μ. Ι. Μανούσακας, «Ἀνέκδοτα ἰντερμέδια τοῦ κρητικοῦ θεάτρου», *Kr. Chron.* 1, 1947, 525-580.

Lampe Lex — G.W H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, Oxford, 1961-8.

Lang Gloss. — J. M. Lang, *Philologiae barbaro-graecae pars prior ... III Glossarii Barbaro - Graeci Compendium*, Altdorf, 1708.

Lewis - Short — C. T. Lewis and C. Short, *A Latin Dictionary*, Oxford, 1962 (reprint).

Lex. Arch. — *Λεξικογραφικὸν Ἀρχεῖον τῆς μέσης καὶ νέας ἑλληνικῆς.*

Lib. — J. A. Lambert, *Le roman de Libistros et Rhodamnè, publié d'après les manuscrits de Leyde et de Madrid avec une introduction, des observations grammaticales et un glossaire*, Amsterdam, 1935

Log. Par. — (Λόγος παρηγορητικὸς περὶ Δυστυχίας καὶ Εὐτυχίας) Sp. Lambros, *Collection de romans grecs en langue vulgaire et en vers, publiés pour la première fois d'après les manuscrits de Leyde et d'Oxford*, Paris, 1880, 289-321.

L-SJ	H. D. Liddell and R. Scott, *A Greek - English Lexicon. A new edition revised and augmented throughout by Sir H. Stuart Jones*, Oxford, 1940.
LXX	The Septuagint.
Mach.	R. M. Dawkins, *Leontios Makhairas Recital concerning the Sweet Land of Cyprus entitled «Chronicle»*, 2 vols., Oxford, 1932.
Meursius	Ioannis Meursi, *Glossarium Graecobarbarum*, Editio altera, Leyden, 1614.
MG	Modern Greek.
Minotou Param. A	M. Μινώτου, «Παραμύθια ἀπὸ τὴ Ζάκυνθο», *Λαογραφία* 10, 1929, 381-448.
Minotou Param. B	M. Μινώτου, «Παραμύθια ἀπὸ τὴ Ζάκυνθο», *Λαογραφία* 11, 1934-37, 415-531.
Minotou Trag.	M. Μινώτου, *Τραγούδια ἀπὸ τὴ Ζάκυνθο (Ζακυνθινὴ Λαογραφία 2)*, Athens, 1933 (reprinted from *'Ιόνιος 'Ανθολογία* 78-79-80).
MNE	Γ. N. Χατζιδάκις, *Μεσαιωνικὰ καὶ νέα ἑλληνικά*, 2 vols., Athens, 1905-7.
NE	*Νέα 'Εστία.*
NEll.	*Νέος 'Ελληνομνήμων.*
Pangalos	Γ. E. Πάγκαλος, *Περὶ τοῦ γλωσσικοῦ ἰδιώματος τῆς Κρήτης*, 4 vols., Athens, 1955-1963.
Panor.	E. Κριαρᾶς, *Γύπαρις, κρητικὸν δρᾶμα. Πηγαὶ - κείμενον* (*Texte und Forschungen zur byz. - neugr. Philologie* 39), Athens, 1940. (A new edition by Kriaras, under the title *Πανώρια*, is to be published in this series).
p.-c.	post-classical.
Pent.	D.C. Hesseling, *Les cinq livres de la Loi (le Pentateuque), traduction en néo-grec, publiée en caractères hebraîques à Constantinople en 1547*, Leyden-Leipzig, 1897.
Penth. Than.	Γ. Θ. Ζώρας, *Πένθος θανάτου, ζωῆς μάταιον καὶ πρὸς Θεὸν ἐπιστροφή* (*Βιβλιοθήκη βυζαντινῆς καὶ νεοελληνικῆς φιλολογίας* 49), Athens, 1970.
Pikat.	E. Κριαρᾶς, «'Η ρίμα θρηνητικὴ τοῦ 'Ιωάννου Πικατόρου», *'Επετηρὶς Μεσαιωνικοῦ 'Αρχείου* 2, 1940, 20-69.
Pol. Tr.	('O Πόλεμος τῆς Τρωάδος) Δ. I. Μαυροφρύδης, *'Εκλογὴ μνημείων τῆς νεωτέρας ἑλληνικῆς γλώσσης, A'*, Athens, 1866, pp. 183-211.
Portulans	A. Delatte, *Les portulans grecs*, Liège, 1947.
Poulol.	Γ. Θ. Ζώρας, *'Ο Πουλλολόγος (κατὰ νέαν παραλλαγὴν)* (*Σπουδαστήριον βυζ. καὶ νεοελλ. φιλολ. Πανεπ. 'Αθηνῶν*), Athens, 1956.
p.p.p.	past participle passive.
Preisigke Lex.	F. Preisigke, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Papyrusurkunden mit Einschluss der griechischen Inschriften, Ausschriften, Ostraka, Mumienschilder usw. aus Ägypten*, 4 vols., Heidelberg - Berlin, 1924 - 1966.

Prodr.	D. C. Hesseling - H. Pernot, *Poèmes prodromiques en grec, vulgaire*, Amsterdam, 1910.
ps-Call.	pseudo-Callisthenes.
Sachlikis	*CGMA* 62-102.
Sachlikis (Papad.)	S. D. Papadimitriou, *'Αφήγησις παράξενος*, Odessa, 1896 (not directly available).
Salvanos	Γ. I. Σαλβᾶνος, *Μελέτη περὶ τοῦ γλωσσικοῦ ἰδιώματος τῶν ἐν Κερκύρᾳ 'Αργυράδων*, Athens, 1918.
Sklav.	Φ. Μπουμπουλίδης, *'Η Συμφορὰ τῆς Κρήτης τοῦ Μανόλη Σκλάβου, κρητικὸν στιχούργημα τοῦ 16ου αἰῶνος* (*Σπουδαστήριον βυζ. καὶ νεοελλ. φιλολ. Πανεπ. 'Αθηνῶν*), Athens, 1955.
Sophocles Lex.	E.A. Sophocles, *Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine Periods (From B C. 146 to A D. 1100)*, 2 vols., New York 1887 (reprint n.d.).
Soumm. Past. Fid.	*Πάστωρ φίδος, ἤγουν Ποιμὴν πιστός, μεταγλωττισμένος ἀπὸ τὸ ἰδίωμα τὸ ἰταλικὸν παρ' ἐμοῦ Μιχαὴλ Σουμμάκη ἐκ πόλεως Ζακύνθου*, Venice, 1658.
Stathis	K. N. Σάθας, *Κρητικὸν θέατρον ἢ συλλογὴ ἀνεκδότων καὶ ἀγνώστων δραμάτων*, Venice, 1879, pp. 103-176.
Stavrinos	É. Legrand, *Les exploits de Michel le Brave, voivode de Valachie, par Stavrinos le vestiar.* (*Recueil de poèmes historiques en grec vulgaire*), Paris, 1877, 16-127.
Synax. Gad.	(Συναξάριον τοῦ τιμημένου γαδάρου) *CGMA* 112-123.
Synax. Gyn.	(Συναξάριον τῶν εὐγενικῶν γυναικῶν καὶ τιμιωτάτων ἀρχόντισσων) K. Krumbacher, «Ein vulgärgriechischer Weiberspiegel», *Sitzungsberichte der philos. - philol. und der histor. Klasse der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu München* 3, 1905, 335-432.
Synchr. Lex.	Θ. Γούλας κ.ἄ., *Σύγχρονον λεξικὸν τῆς ἑλληνικῆς γλώσσης*, Athens, 1961.
TAPA	*Transactions of the American Philological Association.*
Thes.	*Θησέος καὶ γάμοι τῆς 'Εμήλιας*, Venice, 1529 (the numbering is that of F. H. Marshall, *Glossaries to the Greek Translation of Boccaccio's Teseide and to the poem of Georgios Choumnos on Genesis and Exodus* [unpublished, mimeographed]).
Thes. I	E. Follieri, *Il Teseida neogreco. Libro I* (*Testi e studi bizantini - neoellenici* 1), Rome - Athens, 1959.
Thumb	A. Thumb, *Handbook of the Modern Greek Vernacular* (translated by S. Angus), Edinburgh, 1912.
Thysia	Γ. A. Μέγας, *'Η Θυσία τοῦ 'Αβραάμ*, Athens, 1954.
Triant. Lehnw.	M. Triantaphyllidis, *Die Lehnwörter der mittelgriechischen Vulgärliteratur*, Strasburg, 1909.
Triv. Tag., Triv. Hist.	J. Irmscher, *'Ιάκωβος Τριβώλης, Ποιήματα*, Berlin, 1956.
Tzartzanos	A. A. Τζάρτζανος, *Νεοελληνικὴ Σύνταξις (τῆς κοινῆς Δημοτικῆς)*, Athens, 1946-1953.

Vendram. Fil.	Γ. Θ. Ζώρας, «Ἱστορία φιλαργυρίας μετὰ τῆς περηφανίας», *ΕΕΒΣ* 24, 1954, 291-314.
Vendram. Gyn.	(Τζάνες Βεντράμος, Ἱστορία τῶν γυναικῶν, τῶν καλῶν καὶ τῶν κακῶν) B. Knös, «Un miroir des femmes du XVI[e] siècle», *Ell.* 14, 1955, 123-157.
Voskop.	Στ. Ἀλεξίου, *Ἡ Βοσκοπούλα, κρητικὸ εἰδύλλιο τοῦ 1600,* Iraklion, 1963.
Xenit.	(Περὶ τῆς ξενιτείας) *CGMA* 203-223.
Zinon	Κ. Ν. Σάθας, *Κρητικὸν θέατρον ἢ συλλογὴ ἀνεκδότων καὶ ἀγνώστων δραμάτων,* Venice, 1879, pp. 1-102.
Zois Lex.	Λ. Χ. Ζώης, *Λεξικὸν φιλολογικὸν καὶ ἱστορικὸν Ζακύνθου,* Zakynthos, 1898.

PART ONE

INTRODUCTION

1. THE ALEXANDER ROMANCE

Alexander the Great died in Babylon on 13 June 323 B.C., not yet thirty-three years of age [1]. During his brief reign he had profoundly influenced the history and cultural development of many of the peoples with whom he had come into contact. Legends about his exploits, which must have come into existence even during his lifetime [2], flourished, multiplied and diffused rapidly after his death.

These legends, both oral and literary, were eventually woven together into some sort of connected whole. This original compilation, or *Urroman*, must have been written down some time between the end of the third and the beginning of the first century B.C., most probably during the reign of Ptolemy Epiphanes (205/4 B.C.) [3]. Its author is generally believed to have been a Hellenised Egyptian of Alexandria [4].

The *Urroman* has not survived, but many later remodellings of the story, which are directly dependent on it, are extant. These versions generally go under the name of the «Alexander Romance of pseudo-Callisthenes», although the work cannot be described as a romance [5], nor has it any connection with the writings of the historian Callisthenes of Olynthos, who accompanied Alexander on his expedition but was put to death for alleged treason .[6] The mistaken attribution to Callisthenes derives from the fact that several fifteenth century manuscripts of the work name him as the author in their titles [7].

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1. W. W. Tarn, *Alexander the Great,* Cambridge, 1948, vol. I, p. 120.

2. E. Mederer, *Die Alexanderlegenden bei den ältesten Alexanderhistorikern,* Stuttgart, 1936.

3. A. Ausfeld, *Der griechische Alexanderroman,* Leipzig, 1907, p. 237ff. The existence of this *Urroman* is, however, denied by D.J.A. Ross, «Olympias and the Serpent», *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* XXVI, 1963, p. 2: «the romance can hardly be earlier than the third century A.D.».

4. Ausfeld, *op. cit.,* p. 234 ff.

5. B. E. Perry, *The Ancient Romances,* California, 1967, pp. 35, 83, excludes the Alexander Romance from consideration as a genuine romance.

6. On the history written by Callisthenes see Pearson, *The Lost Histories of Alexander the Great,* 1960, p.22ff.

7. See D.J.A. Ross, *Alexander Historiatus. A Guide to Medieval Illustrated Alexander Literature* (= *Warburg Institute Surveys,* 1), London 1963, p. 5 and note 2;

The sources from which the pseudo-Callisthenes was assembled have been thoroughly and conclusively investigated by R. Merkelbach [1]. From his researches it appears that two principle sources are present: a romanticised history of Alexander, based on the Cleitarchan tradition, from which all the historical elements of the Romance derive, and an Epistolary Romance *(Briefroman)* dating from the first century B.C. Other secondary sources include Egyptian legends of Nectanebus, letters describing the fabulous adventures of Alexander in India, an account of Alexander's last days, including his will, and the conversation between Alexander and the Indian Gymnosophists. This analysis is made possible by the fact that many of the individual elements have survived separately, used as sources by various authors, or in papyri, or in translations [2].

Once the Alexander Romance had been crystallised into a definitive form, the processes of accretion, modification and revision did not cease [3]. Nearly two dozen Greek manuscripts exist containing prose texts of the Romance, no two of which are identical; to them may be added other Greek versions which must be postulated on the evidence of translations into other languages. Classification of all this available material has generally taken the form of postulating a number of different «versions»: α, β, γ, *δ, (known only through translations), ε and λ. Such a method, however, has certain hazards, as had been pointed out by Veloudis [4]. The tradition of the Alexander Romance is quite different from that of classical texts: almost every scribe took it upon himself to rework the text in some way, linguistically, or by adding or removing episodes, or by conflating two variant texts into a single one. In this

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for the titles of the manuscripts see L. Bergson, *Der griechische Alexanderroman, Rezension β,* Uppsala, 1965, pp. X-XI, XIV-XV.

1. R. Merkelbach, *Die Quellen des griechischen Alexanderromans* (= *Zetemata* 9, 1954).

2. For a stemmatic representation of the interrelationships of all the relevant texts, see Merkelbach, *op. cit.*, p. 192.

3. Brief accounts of the tradition of the Romance have been given (with varying degrees of reliability) by, amongst others: F. P. Magoun, *The Gests of King Alexander of Macedon,* Cambridge Mass., 1929, pp. 22-62; Merkelbach, *op. cit.*, pp. 61ff., 171ff.; F. Pfister, «Studien zum Alexanderroman», *Würzburger Jahrbücher für die Altertumswissenschaft* 1 (1946), p. 33ff., G. Cary, *The Medieval Alexander,* Cambridge, 1956 (reprinted 1967), p. 9ff.; D.J.A. Ross, *op. cit.*, pp. 5f., 41ff.; K. Mitsakis, «Διήγησις περὶ τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ τῶν μεγάλων πολέμων», *BNJ* 20 (1968), p. 228ff.

4. G. Veloudis, *Der neugriechische Alexander. Tradition in Bewahrung und Wandel* (= *Miscellanea Byzantina Monacensia* 8), Munich, 1968, pp. 20-22.

sense every manuscript is itself a «version», so that, in Veloudis' opinion, it would be preferable to speak of «text-groups». Valid though this criticism is, it is useful in practice, when speaking of the overall development of the Romance, to be able to refer to the hypothetical «versions» α, β etc., provided that the reservations mentioned above are always borne in mind and that the «versions» are not thought of as identical with any of the extant texts which represent them.

The original version (α) [1] from which all the extant witnesses are ultimately descended may be dated between the second and fourth centuries A.D., most probably in the region of 300 A.D. [2]. The nearest surviving text to this hypothetical α version is generally agreed to be that of the eleventh century Codex Parisinus gr. 1711 (A) [3]; another manuscript (L) offers a text very close to A, but for the first ten chapters only [4]. Unfortunately manuscript A contains many lacunae, as well as other textual shortcomings, so that it would be impossible to obtain a complete picture of the original contents of the Romance from it alone. However, there exist several non-Greek texts which appear to be closely related to A: two translations into Latin, one ascribed to a certain Julius Valerius Alexander Polemius (fourth century) [5], and one made by Archpriest Leo of Naples (tenth century) [6], one in Armenian (ca. fifth cen-

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1. The dangers implicit in any attempt to reconstruct this original version (as Ausfeld in fact tried, *op. cit.*, p. 29ff.) have been underlined by Merkelbach, *op. cit.*, pp. 69-70. At many points it seems probable that β has preserved the correct text in common with translations such as Arm. and Val., and A is at fault. In practice, therefore, Merkelbach abolishes the siglum α and refers only to A.

2. Ausfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 249f., Merkelbach, *op. cit.*, p. 59 etc.; but Pfister, *op. cit.*, p. 45, dates the original version of the Romance in the first century A.D.

3. Edited by W. Kroll, *Historia Alexandri Magni (Pseudo - Callisthenes),* vol. 1, *Recensio vetusta,* Berlin, 1926 (reprinted photomechanically, 1958).

4. Edited by H. Meusel, *Jahrbücher für class. Philologie,* Suppl. - Bd. V, 1871, p. 701ff.

5. Edited by B. Kübler, *Iulii Valerii Alexandri Polemi res gestae Alexandri Macedonis ...*, Leipzig, 1888. For its importance as a source of many European vernacular versions, see Cary, *op. cit.*, p. 24ff.

6. Two recensions exist: (1) the older, edited from the Bamberg manuscript by F. Pfister, *Der Alexanderroman des Archipresbyters Leo,* Heidelberg, 1913 (see also D.J.A. Ross, «A new Manuscript of Archpriest Leo of Naples», *Classica et Mediaevalia* 29, 1959, pp. 98-158); (2) the so-called *Historia de preliis,* edited by O. Zingerle, «Die Quellen zum Alexander des Rudolf von Ems», *Germanist. Abhandl.* IV, 1885, p. 127ff. For the importance of Leo for the transmission of the Romance to Western Europe, see Ross, *Alexander Historiatus,* p. 47 and Cary, *op. cit.*, pp. 11, 38-58.

tary)[1], one in Syriac (in or before the sixth century)[2], and one in Ethiopic (of uncertain date, perhaps fourteenth century)[3]. The Latin translation of Leo and the Syriac and Ethiopic versions are sometimes classified together as the *δ recension, because they have in common certain features which distinguish them from the other texts of group α[4]. This classification has tended to be abandoned by modern scholars[5], and all these texts are now generally grouped together under the heading α.

The second «version» of the Romance (β) is much better represented in Greek than the first. There are six principal manuscripts, identified by the letters, B, M, F, K, V and L, and three secondary ones (S, Q, P) which either contain only a part of the text or are contaminated with elements of other traditions. These β-type manuscripts range in date from the eleventh to the sixteenth century, and though their texts are basically similar they nonetheless exhibit some important differences. They have been conflated to produce a single text of the «β version» by L. Bergson[6]. The characteristics which distinguish the β-type manuscripts from A and the translations related to it are: a general attempt to make the Romance more readable and complete, and to bring it more into line with historical truth (which involved the addition of some episodes and the expungement of others), the removal of some of the Alexandrian colouring of the earlier version, and a thorough stylistic revision with much linguistic simplification and modernisation. This revision

1. There is a retroversion into Greek by R. Raabe, *'Ιστορία 'Αλεξάνδρου*, Leipzig, 1896. A translation into English has recently appeared: A. M. Wolohojian, *The Romance of Alexander the Great by Pseudo-Callisthenes*, New York, 1969.

2. Translated into English by E. A. Wallis Budge, *The History of Alexander the Great*, Cambridge, 1889. There is also a German translation by V. Ryssel, *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen* 90, 1893. That the Syriac version derived from a Persian and not, as Budge thought, from an Arabic one was shown by Nöldeke, «Beiträge zur Geschichte des Alexanderromans», *Denkschriften der K. Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien* XXXVIII, 1890, p. 11.

3. Edited by E. A. Wallis Budge, *The Life and Exploits of Alexander the Great*, London, 1896; see also *id.*, *The Alexander Book in Ethiopia*, London, 1933.

4. For a list of similarities between Leo and Syr. see Ausfeld, *op. cit.*, pp. 17-20.

5. For example Merkelbach, *op. cit.*, p. 66, L. Bergson, *Der griechische Alexanderroman, Rezension β*, pp. V-VI. On the other hand the δ version is still referred to by Ballaira, «Frammenti inediti della perduta recensione δ del Romanzo di Alessandro in un codice vaticano», *Bolletino del Comitato per la prep. della Ed. Naz. dei Classici Greci e Latini* N.S. XIII, 1965, pp. 27-59; K. Mitsakis, *op. cit.*, pp. 6-7; G. Veloudis, *Alexander der Grosse, Ein alter Neugrieche*, Munich, 1969, p. 11 and by others.

6. L. Bergson, *op. cit.* See the criticisms of G. Veloudis, *BZ* 60, 1967, pp. 87-90.

can only be dated with the aid of the Armenian translation which, it has been shown, contains some elements which are not otherwise witnessed in the α tradition and which seem to be characteristic of the β tradition[1]. The Armenian version dates from the golden age of Armenian literature (fifth to sixth centuries)[2]. The β version, on which it seems to be partly dependent, must therefore be dated, according to Bergson[3], between 300 and 550 A.D., but probably not earlier than the fifth century.

Two other versions of the Romance, both in verse, appear, like Arm., to be dependent on both the α and β traditions. The first of these is the Byzantine poem 'Αλέξανδρος ὁ βασιλεὺς in unrhymed political verse[4]. It is basically a versification of a prose text very similar to the surviving β-type manuscripts, but with the addition of some elements of the α tradition e.g. chapters I 45 - II 2 (=vv. 2156-2913)[5]. There are also some episodes borrowed from the Chronicle of George the Monk[6]. Much discussion has surrounded the question of the date of composition of the poem. The only extant manuscript (Codex Marcianus 408) has the following three verses at the end of the Alexander poem:

1. A. Ausfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 14; R. Raabe, *op. cit.*, p. VI.

2. The term «golden age» is applied to various periods by different scholars: H. Thorossian, *Histoire de la littérature arménienne*, Paris 1951, p. 48, uses it to refer to the fifth century, but dates the Armenian translation of the pseudo-Callisthenes in the sixth century (*ibid.*, p. 69); H. Berbérian, in R. Queneau, *Histoire des littératures (Encyclopédie de la Pleiade)*, vol. 1, 1955, p. 794, also calls the fifth century the golden age of Armenian literature; but Bergson, *op. cit.*, p. X, places the Armenian version of the Alexander Romance in the *silver* age of Armenian literature, which he defines as 450-572, following the authority of T. Inglisian, *Handbuch der Orientalistik* I:7, 1963, p. 163.

3. L. Bergson, *op. cit.*, p.X.

4. First edited by W. Wagner, *Trois poèmes grecs du moyen-âge inédits*, Berlin, 1881, pp. 56-241, and again recently by S. Reichmann, *Das byzantinische Alexandergedicht*, Meisenheim am Glan, 1963. Important studies of the sources and language of the poem were made by H. Christensen: «Die Vorlagen des byzantinischen Alexandergedichtes», *Sitz.-Ber. der bayer. Akad. der Wissenschaften* 1897, p. 33ff.; «Die Sprache des byzantinischen Alexandergedichtes», *BZ* 7, 1898, pp. 366-397.

5. Merkelbach, *op. cit.*, p. 64. K. Mitsakis has clarified the question of the sources as follows: neither α nor β served as the direct model of Byz., but a text closely related to both, which offered a more complete, independent tradition («Beobachtungen zum byzantinischen Alexandergedicht», *JÖB* 16, 1967, pp. 119-126, esp. p. 125). Earlier Christensen had suggested that Byz. was based mainly on β but also used a text of group α as far as II 22 («Die Vorlagen», p. 113).

6. Christensen, «Die Vorlagen», pp. 89-102.

'Εγράφη δὲ πρὸς ἔτεσι τοῖς ἑξακισχιλίοις
ἓξ σὺν τοῖς ἐνενήκοντα καὶ τοῖς ὀκτακοσίοις,
ἰνδικτιῶνος ἐν αὐτοῖς τρεχούσης ἐνδεκάτης.

The question is, does the date mentioned here (A.M. 6896 = 1388 A.D.) refer to the composition of the poem or only to the copying of the manuscript? Adherents of the second view [1] place the composition of the poem in the thirteenth century, mainly on linguistic evidence, while many other scholars have argued more convincingly that 1388 must be the date at which the Byzantine Alexander poem was composed [2].

The other metrical version of the Alexander Romance in Greek is the subject of the present study: the poem entitled *Γέννησις, κατορθώματα καὶ θάνατος 'Αλεξάνδρου τοῦ Μακεδόνος διὰ στίχου.* consisting of 2948 rhymed political verses and first published in Venice in 1529. Like the Byzantine poem (with which it is not, however, directly related) it has affinities with both the α and β traditions. Its sources will be discussed at length in Chapter 3.

The α- and β - type texts certainly represent the oldest surviving forms of the pseudo-Callisthenes. Dependent on them are three more recent versions or reworkings which modify them considerably and add new elements of their own. The earliest of these seems to be version ε, which is extant in only one manuscript – the Bodleian Barrocianus 17 (Q) – and whose origin has been dated to the sixth century [3]. Dependent

1. For example Christensen, «Die Vorlagen», pp. 33, n. 1 and 43, and *id.*, «Die Sprache», p. 366 places it between 1200 and 1350; Pfister, «Alexander der Grosse in der byz. Literatur und in neugriechischen Volksbuchern», *Probleme der neugr. Literatur* III, Berlin, 1960, p. 127 dates it first half of thirteenth century; Mitsakis, «Beobachtungen», pp. 119-121, relying on the absence of Frankish loanwords in the poem, dates it second half of twelfth century or, at the latest, beginning of thirteenth.

2. The first evidence that 1388 cannot have been the date of copying of Cod. Marc. was provided by J. Morelli, *Bibliotheca manuscripta graeca et latina*, Bassano, 1802, p. 278, who dated the manuscript as belonging to the beginning of the fifteenth century on palaeographic grounds. 1388 as the date of composition is supported by Reichmann, *op. cit.*, p. IV and by A. Gonzato, «Il codice Marciano greco 408 e la data del romanzo bizantino di Alessandro con una ipotesi sull'autore», *BZ* 56, 1963, p. 248ff. The most persuasive arguments are those of J. Trumpf, «Zwei Zitate aus dem byz. Alexandergedicht im Codex Vindob. phil. gr. 241», *JÖB* 14, 1965, pp. 79-80, who on the basis of the quotation of these and other verses of the poem in another manuscript shows that 1388 cannot be the date of Cod. Marc. but of the poem itself. But Mitsakis, *op. cit.*, p. 120 suggests that 1388 could easily be the date of the manuscript from which Cod. Marc. was copied.

3. J. Trumpf, «Alexanders kappadokisches Testament», *BZ* 52, 1959, p. 253, n. 1.

on both ε and β is version γ, represented by three manuscripts (C, D, R), which has been assigned a date in the seventh century [1]. Its principal characteristic is the superimposition of a Jewish atmosphere on the whole work [2]. Its author may have been a patriotic Alexandrian Jew, but this hypothesis is denied by Trumpf [3]. One important element of γ is the mention of the colours worn by the factions in the Byzantine hippodrome [4].

The last version of this group is represented by five manuscripts (O, W, H, N and P), which have been classified together as λ [5]. Its origins are datable to the end of the seventh century [6]; it is based on a manuscript of the β - type into which were interpolated: 1) a collection of apophthegmata; 2) a text of pseudo-Methodius; 3) a different version of the second letter of Alexander to Aristotle (replacing that in β).

After the λ version it is not for another 600 years or more that further revisions of the Romance are known to have been made. But this gap certainly does not indicate that the Alexander Romance was no longer popular reading matter [7]. It is merely that no datable evidence for new reworkings of the text during the intervening period is available today. In the thirteenth century, or more probably (as we have seen), in the late fourteenth century, the evidence reappears in the form of

The text has not been edited but excerpts were published by Meusel, *Jahrbücher für class. Philologie*, Suppl. - Bd. V, Leipzig, 1871, pp. 794-805. Parts of the ε recension are also found in two other manuscripts (K and H); see Bergson, *op. cit.*, p. VIII. Trumpf is preparing an edition.

1. The text is edited in three volumes: U. von Lauenstein, *Der griechische Alexanderroman, Rezension γ, Buch I*, Meisenheim am Glan 1962; H. Engelmann, *Der gr. Alex. Buch II*, Meisenheim, 1963; F. Parthe, *Der gr. Alex. Buch III*, Meisenheim, 1969. The date of the recension is fixed by the description of a seventh century chariot race; see von Lauenstein, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

2. The original composition of some of these Jewish passages, in particular that referring to the foundation of Alexandria, is dated by Pfister in the first century A. D.; see F. Pfister, «Eine jüdische Gründungsgeschichte Alexandrias», *Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften* V, 1914, 11. Abhandlung.

3. J. Trumpf, review of H. Gleixner, *Das Alexanderbild*, in *BZ* 55, 1962, p. 85.

4. See H. Gleixner, *Das Alexanderbild der Byzantiner*, Dissertation, Munich, 1961, p. 64 and references given there.

5. The parts of it which diverge significantly from β have been edited by H. van Thiel, *Die Rezension λ des Pseudo-Kallisthenes*, Bonn, 1959.

6. H. van Thiel, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

7. See K. Mitsakis, *Der byzantinische Alexanderroman nach dem Codex Vindob. Theol. gr. 244 (Miscellanea Byzantina Monacensia 7)*, Munich, 1967, pp. 5-7.

the Byzantine Alexander poem. A further group of texts, which may collectively be referred to as the late-Byzantine prose Alexander Romance [1], probably has its origins about the end of the fifteenth century or the beginning of the sixteenth, though some scholars have tried to date these texts as early as the late twelfth century [2].

The late-Byzantine prose romance is extant in nine primary and two secondary manuscripts, according to the latest reckoning [3], all of which stem from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The primary manuscripts all offer a more or less complete narration of the Romance (though two of them—G and H—have rather the character of an epitome), while the secondary ones relate only fragmentary episodes of

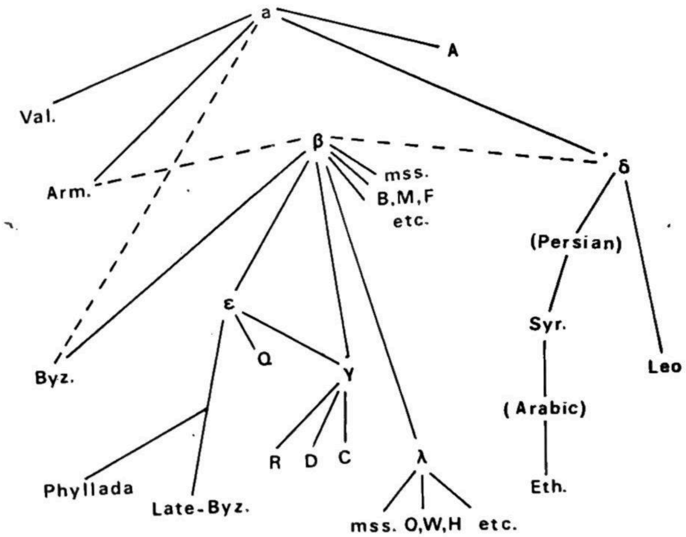
1. The terms «byzantinischer Alexanderroman» and «mittelgriechischer Prosa-Alexander» (used by Mitsakis and Trumpf respectively) could both be thought to refer to the earlier versions. There can be no confusion if the term «late-Byzantine prose Alexander» is employed.

2. The early date—late twelfth or early thirteenth century—was suggested by Pfister, but without any positive evidence being adduced (*op. cit.*, p. 127). K. Mitsakis accepted that date (*op. cit.*, pp. 7-8), as does J. Trumpf («Zur Überlieferung des mittelgriechischen Prosa-Alexander und der Φυλλάδα τοῦ Μεγαλέξαντρου», *BZ* 60, 1967, p.4) but G. Veloudis, *Der neugriechische Alexander,* 1968, pp. 36-7, proposes 1430 and 1453 as *termini post quem* and *ante quem* respectively. L. Politis accepts 1430 as the *terminus post quem* but rejects 1453 and would date the late-Byz. version on linguistic grunds to the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century (review of Veloudis in *Ell.* 23, 1970, pp. 388-390). He also notes that, with the exception of Frankish-inspired Cypriot texts, the demotic was not cultivated at all in prose until the end of the fifteenth century. H. Gleixner, *Das Alexanderbild der Byzantiner,* p. 67, thought that the kernel of the late-Byz. version could be traced back to the reign of Heraclius (610-641), but based his argument on a mistaken interpretation of a passage in one of the manuscripts (Vindob. 244) which refers to Heracles (see Veloudis, *op. cit.*, p. 35f.). More recently Mitsakis has suggested that late-Byz. is the result of a continuous process of revision of the ε version, which culminated in the extant manuscripts of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (K. Mitsakis, «The Tradition of the Alexander Romance in Modern Greek Literature», *'Αρχαία Μακεδονία,* Salonika 1970, p. 377).

3. Eight primary and four secondary manuscripts are listed by K. Mitsakis, *Der byz. Alexanderroman,* pp. 8-9. Two of the secondary ones are declared by J. Trumpf not to be connected with the Romance (*BZ* 62, 1969, p. 80). On the other hand, one further manuscript must be added to the primary category: Meteorensis (Barlaam) 197 (J) (see K. Mitsakis, «The Tradition of the Alexander Romance in Modern Greek Literature», *'Αρχαία Μακεδονία,* Salonika, 1970, p. 378). The texts so far published are: excerpts from Laurentianus 1444 by A. N. Wesselofsky, «Die Wunderepisode der mittelgriechischen Alexandreis», *Archiv fur slavische Philologie* 11, 1888, 327-343 (an analysis of the whole text, in Russian, by V. Istrin is to be found in *Vizantijskij Vremennik* 6, 1899, pp. 97-130); Athos 3309 (= Koutloumousi 236)

the Romance [1]. As far as its sources are concerned, the late-Byzantine prose romance constitutes a popular reworking of a text quite similar to that of manuscript Q, that is of version ε [2].

Finally, a manuscript of this group [3] served as the basis of a printed work, the so-called *Φυλλάδα τοῦ Μεγαλέξαντρου* which appeared in Venice



by K. Mitsakis, «Διήγησις περὶ τοῦ 'Αλεξάνδρου καὶ τῶν μεγάλων πολέμων», *BNJ* 20, 1968, p. 228ff.; and Vindob. theol. gr. 244 by A. N. Veselovskij, *Iz istorij romana i povjesti,* St. Petersburg, 1886 (= *Sbornik otdelenija russkago jazyka i slovesnosti imperatorskoj akademij nauk* 40.2) Supplement, pp. 1-64, and again by K. Mitsakis, *Der byzantinische Alexanderroman nach dem Codex Vindob. theol. gr. 244* (= *Miscellanea Byzantina Monacensia* 7), Munich, 1967.

1. K. Mitsakis, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

2. J. Trumpf, «Zur Überlieferung des mittelgriechischen Prosa - Alexander und der Φυλλάδα τοῦ Μεγαλέξαντρου», *BZ* 60, 1967, p. 4.

3. K. Mitsakis, «Διήγησις περὶ τοῦ 'Αλεξάνδρου», pp. 243-4, suggests that the editions of the *Phyllada* may not all derive from a single manuscript of the late-Byz. prose Romance, but from two or more similar manuscripts.

for the first time about 1680 and was printed at least 43 times, the last being in 1926 [1].

The diagram on page 11 shows schematically the relationships between the various versions and translations mentioned in the course of this chapter [2].

1. For a complete list of all the known editions see Veloudis, *op. cit.*, pp. 13-19. The text has also been reprinted with an introduction by A. A. Pallis in 1935, republished by «Galaxias» in 1961. These editions do not of course belong to the series of «chapbooks», being intended for an altogether different public.

2. Adapted from the stemma of G. Ballaira, «Sul Romanzo di Alessandro», *Bolletino del Comitato per la prep. della Ed. Naz. dei Classici Greci e Latini*, N. S. XVI, 1968, p. 5.

2. THE TRADITION OF THE TEXT

The modern Greek Alexander Romance in rhyming political verse (which will hereafter be referred to as the *Rimada*) survives in a series of fourteen Venetian chapbook editions and in a single manuscript. The manuscript in question is Meteora Codex 445, which is to be found in the Monastery of the Transfiguration (Μεταμορφώσεως). It was first mentioned by N. Bees[1], and a full description has been given by Veloudis[2] and in the catalogue of Meteora manuscripts compiled from Bees' papers[3].

The manuscript dates from the sixteenth century and consists of 80 leaves, with approximately 20 lines to a page. The script is neat and legible, with only a small number of abbreviations. The initial letters are written in red ink. The title on f. 1ʳ is the same as that of the first printed editions, and reads as follows: Γέννησις, κατορθώματα, καὶ θάνατος, ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ μακεδόνος, διὰ στίχου (see *Plate I*). The manuscript is incomplete, for f. 80ᵛ ends with the verse:

κούρον ἀφήνο ἀργηγόν, νάχη σαυτὴ νὰ κάνη

which corresponds to v. 2906 of the printed editions. Thus 38 verses, which would fill approximately one leaf, and the Epilogue of the printed editions are lacking.

At various points in the manuscript blank spaces have been left for the future execution of suitable illustrations—which were never in fact supplied (see *Plate II*)[4]. The gaps correspond almost exactly to the points at which woodcuts appear in the first edition: f. 1ᵛ after v. 20b (in edition after 20c); f. 5ᵛ after v. 152 (in edition after 152a); f. 10ᵛ

1. *Ἔκθεσις παλαιογραφικῶν καὶ τεχνικῶν ἐρευνῶν ἐν ταῖς μοναῖς τῶν Μετεώρων κατὰ τὰ ἔτη 1908 καὶ 1909*, Athens, 1910, p. 42.

2. *Der neugriechische Alexander*, p. 48.

3. *Τὰ χειρόγραφα τῶν Μετεώρων*, Α' Athens, 1967, pp. 452-3.

4. Similar gaps occur in other mss. connected with the Alexander Romance: Cod. Marc. gr. 408 which includes the Byzantine Alexander poem (see A. Gonzato, «Il codice Marciano greco 408 e la data del romanzo bizantino di Alessandro», *BZ* 56 1963, 249ff.), Cod. Bodl. Barocc. 17 which contains ms. Q (see Merkelbach, *op. cit.*, p. 176) and Cod. Laurentianus Ashburnensis 1444, containing one of the late Byzantine prose versions (K. Mitsakis, *Balkan Studies* 9, 1968, 278).

after v. 306a (as in edition); f. 11^v after v. 332a (as edition); f. 15^r after v. 452a (as edition); f. 25^v after v. 842a (as edition); f. 26^r after v. 864 (as edition); f. 34^r after v. 1146 (as edition); f. 36^r after v. 1210 (as edition); f. 36^v after v. 1226 (as edition, but only a small space is left); f. 37^r at top of page (a larger gap, obviously intended for the illustration which belongs after v. 1226); f. 39^v after v. 1324 (as edition); f. 53^v after v. 1858 (as edition); f. 54^v after v. 1874 (as edition)[1].

Thus there are thirteen gaps which were clearly intended to hold suitable illustrations[2]. These correspond exactly to the thirteen woodcuts of the *editio princeps* (i.e. excluding the frontispiece), except that those on ff. 1^v and 5^v occur before a chapter heading instead of after it, as in the edition. The relationship between this manuscript and the printed editions will be discussed below.

No other manuscript of the *Rimada* is known to have survived, but it is possible that one existed formerly in the Library of the Escorial. According to d'Aristarchi[3] a manuscript of a fabulous history of Alexander the Great in verse, copied by Dimitrios Zinos, existed in the Escorial «à côté d'une traduction 'en lengua castellana' sous la rubrique 'Libro de los hechos de Alexandro Magno en letra, lengua y poesia profana'». The Spanish poem is recorded by Zarco Cuevas in his list of manuscripts which had disappeared from the Escorial since the fire of 1671;[4] his information derives from the catalogue of Haenel[5], so that it would appear that the «Libro de los hechos de Alexandro Magno» was still in existence in 1822 (the date of the Spanish section of Haenel's catalogue) but that it had disappeared by 1929 (Zarco Cuevas' catalogue). Whether d'Aristarchi actually saw the manuscript or, as is more probable, abstracted the information from Haenel, is not known.

It should be noted that both the references to this manuscript are

1. Veloudis, *op. cit.*, p. 48, but the folio numeration there is sometimes inaccurate.

2. The small space left at the foot of f. 36^v may be discounted as the illustration was obviously to be set at the top of the following leaf. A similar small space is found at the foot of f. 25^r, and there, too, a larger gap follows immediately on the next verso.

3. S. d' Aristarchi, «Les Grecs à l'Escurial», *Πεντηκονταετηρὶς τοῦ ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Φιλολογικοῦ Συλλόγου (1861-1911)*, Supplement to vol. 34, 1913-21, p. 372.

4. P. Fr. Julian Zarco Cuevas, *Catálogo de los manuscritos Castellanos de la Real Biblioteca de el Escorial*, vol. III, 1929, p. 558 no. 51.

5. Gustavo Haenel, *Catalogi librorum manuscriptorum qui in Bibliothecis Galliae, Helvetiae, Belgii, Britanniae M., Hispaniae, Lusitaniae asservantur*, Leipzig, 1830, col. 962.

found in catalogues of the Castilian manuscripts—it is only d'Aristarchi who links it («à côté de ...») with the Greek poem which bears Zinos' name. On the face of it, however, it is not impossible that a manuscript of the *Rimada* found its way to the Escorial. Other manuscripts copied by Zinos, probably for don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, one of the Library's great benefactors, were to be found in the Escorial[1]. Zinos, as editor of the *Rimada*[2], must have written out a fair copy of the work, correcting the faults of the only available copy (Epilogue vv. 7-10, 19-22), for the use of the compositors. Just as the manuscript which was used for the printing of the Greek version of Boccaccio's *Theseid* in 1529 has been preserved in the Palatine Library[3], so it is possible that Zinos' copy of the *Rimada* was amongst the manuscripts which Mendoza collected and were later transferred to the Escorial[4]. (Against this hypothesis, it must be admitted that for manuscripts used by printers during this period to survive at all is an extremely rare occurrence). At all events the manuscript can no longer be traced.

Two other manuscripts of the Alexander Romance are reported to have existed in the Escorial Library, with the catalogue marks B II 5 and B VI 13 (formerly Z. VII. 4. and Θ. VI. 30)[5]. According to Barvoetius' catalogue[6] they contained «Callisthenes de rebus gestis Alexandri magni». He describes them in disparaging terms: «Sed uterque ἀποβολιμαῖος; stylus quippe recentior, ac subinde barbarus; adeo ut neotericus

1. D'Aristarchi, *op. cit.*, p. 372. The only surviving ms. which bears Zinos' name is a paraphrase of the *Nicomachean Ethics*, ms. 157 (formerly T. II. 18). See below Chapter 4, p. 45. Mendoza is said to have had a Greek scribe lodging at his home (see C. Graux, *Essai sur les origines du Fonds grec de l'Escurial* (*Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Etudes* 46), Paris 1880, p. 189). It is not impossible (though unsubstantiated) that Zinos was this unnamed scribe. On Mendoza and his contribution to the Escorial Library see Graux, *ibid.*, especially pp. 163-273.

2. See below, Chapter 4.

3. Ms. Palat. gr. 426; see E. Follieri, «La versione in greco volgare del Teseida di Boccaccio», *Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici*, 7, 1953 (= *Atti dello VIII Congresso Internat. di Studi Bizantini)*, p. 67ff. It is almost certain that this ms. was in fact written by Zinos; see below Chapter 4, p. 47 n. 5.

4. On Zinos' work as a manuscript copyist see Chapter 4.

5. G. de Andrés, *Catálogo de los Codices Griegos desaparecidos de la Real Biblioteca de El Escorial*, 1968, pp. 44, 77.

6. See S.P.N. *Cyrilli Archiepiscopi Alexandrini Homiliae XIX in Ieremiam Prophetam ... a Balthasare Corderio ...*, Antwerp, 1648, pp. xxi-xxxviii, esp. pp. xxxi-xxxii. The catalogue is reprinted by E. Miller, *Catalogue des manuscrits Grecs de la Bibliothèque de l'Escurial*, Paris, 1848, pp. 511-528, see esp. p. 521.

nescio quis Graeculus potius videatur, quam antiquus ille scriptor». Neither of these manuscripts exists today — most probably they were destroyed by the fire of 1671 — so it is not possible to say with certainty what they contained, or even whether both contained the same work. From Barvoetius' description, however, one may suppose that they contained texts of the late Byzantine type — related either to the group from which the *Phyllada* is descended[1] or to the prose model of the *Rimada*[2].

Printed editions. Copies of fourteen editions of the *Rimada* survive, all of them published in Venice; they are dated 1529, 1553, 1600, 1603, 1620, 1654, 1690, 1729, 1738, 1747, 1778, 1794, 1804 and 1805[3]. For the present study copies of five of these have been consulted, and a sixth was accessible via photographic copies. These editions are described in detail below:

1529[4]: Ο' Α'ΛΕ'ΞΑΝΔΡΟC Ο' ΜΑ- |ΚΕΔΩ'Ν. | (Mark of Kounadis — a marten on a shield); on f. αi^v Ο' βασιλεὺς νεκτεναβὸς. | Woodcut. αii^r ornament, (title) ΓΕ'ΝΝΗCIC, ΚΑΤΟΡΘΩ'ΜΑΤΑ, | ΚΑΙ' ΘΑ'ΝΑΤΟC Α'ΛΕΞΑ'Ν - | ΔΡΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΜΑΚΕΔΟ' - | ΝΟC ΔΙΑ' CΤΙ'ΧΟΥ. | (Incipit) Σοφία τῶν αἰγύπτιων ... On verso of last page of text (ηii): Finito Alexandro Magno Stampato in Venetia | per Giovan Antonio & Fratelli da Sabbio. | ad instantia di M. Damiano de Santa | Maria, nel MDXXIX. On f. ηiii Epilogue, (incipit) Ετοῦτο τὸ βιβλόπουλον ...

Collation: α-ζ^8 (= six signatures), η^4, in 4^0, 104 pp. unnumbered. Fourteen woodcuts. Three copies exist: British Museum G. 10 797 (a handsome exemplar, in the red morroco binding of the Hon. Thomas Grenville[5]) and two copies in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, numbered Mason F.F. 451 and Byw. J. 3.5. The last mentioned lacks the first leaf; otherwise the only difference observed is that the Bywater copy exhibits a «pulled» type wrongly replaced: v. 1210 ὑκ'φέραν.

1600[6]: Ο' Α'ΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟC | Ο' ΜΑΚΕΔΩΝ. | Ornament. | Ε'νετίησι, παρὰ Δομινίκω | τῷ Ντεπολωνίω. | Τύποις τοῖς τοῦ Cπινέλλου. | Ε"τει τῷ ἀπὸ τ(ῆς) ἐνσάρκου οἰκο |νομίας τοῦ Ι'ῦ Χοῦ. ,αχ'.

1. See Chapter 1, pp. 10-1.
2. See Chapter 3.
3. For a full description of all these editions, see Veloudis, *op. cit.*, pp. 53-5 and notes 7-19, pp. 76-7.
4. *BH XV/XVI*, vol. I, p. 205, No. 83; J. - Ch. Brunet, *Manuel du Libraire et de l'amateur de livres*, vol. I, Paris, 1860, col. 165. (See *Plate* III).
5. J. Th. Payne and H. Foss, *Bibliotheca Grenvilliana*, vol. I, 1842, p. 19.
6. Lambros, *NEll* 16, 1922, 268; Brunet, *op. cit.*, col. 165.

Collation: A - E^8, Z^6, in 4^0, 92pp. unnumbered. Nine woodcuts. Sole known exemplar: Bodleian Library, Oxford, 4^0 A. 31. Art.

1603[1]: Ο ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟC | Ο ΜΑΚΕΔΩΝ. | Pine-tree emblem. | ΕΝΕΤΙΗΣΙΝ. Παρὰ Μάρκω τῷ Πινέλλω. | ,αχγ'.

Collation: α^{24}, β^{22}, in 4^0, 92pp. unnumbered. Nine woodcuts. One copy in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, 4^0 H. 11. Art; another in the University Library, Leyden.

1654[2]: Ι'ΣΤΟ'ΡΙΑ | ΩΡΑΙΩΤΑΤΗ | ΕΙ'Σ ΤΗ'Ν Ο'ΠΟΙ'ΑΝ | περιέχεται, ὁ Βίος & ἀνδραγαθεῖαι | τοῦ περιβοήτου Βασιλέως | Α'ΛΕΞΑ'ΝΔΡΟΥ τοῦ ΜΑΚΕΔΩ'ΝΟΣ, | Υἱοῦ τῶν θαυμαστῶν Βασιλέων Φιλίππου, | καὶ Ο'λυμπιάδος: - | CON PRIVILEGIO. | (Woodcut emblem) | Ε'Ν ΒΕΝΕΤΙ'ΑΙΣ, ,αχνδ'. | | Παρὰ Ι'ωάννη Α'ντωνίῳ τῷ Γ'ουλιανῷ: - | Πουλίεται κοντὰ εἰς τὸν Πόντε τοῦ ἁγίου Φαντίνου.

Collation: A - D^{16}, in 8vo, 128pp. unnumbered. Eight woodcuts, two of which appear twice. One copy only, in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, Byw. U 9 26(2), bound together with the first edition of *Erophile* (1637).

1794: ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑ | Εἰς τὴν ὁποίαν περιέχεται ὁ Βίος, | καὶ ἡ Α'νδραγαθίαις τοῦ | περιβοήτου Βασιλέως | ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ | ΤΟΥ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΟΣ, | Υἱοῦ τῶν θαυμαστῶν Βασιλέων | ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ, ΚΑΙ ΟΛΥΜΠΙΑΔΟΣ. | Νεωστὶ τυπωθεῖσα, καὶ μετ' ἐπιμελείας διορθωθεῖσα. | Emblem | ,αψϟδ'. ΕΝΕΤΙΗΣΙΝ, 1794. | | | Παρὰ Νικολάῳ Γλυκεῖ τῷ ἐξ Ι'ωαννίνων. | CON LICENZA DE' SUPERIORI.

Collation: A - G^8, in 8vo, 112pp. numbered. No illustration. One copy in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, 29196 f. 5; another copy in the Library of the Monastery of Vatopedi, Mt. Athos.

The edition of 1553[3] has been consulted by means of photographic copies made available by the Library of the École des langues orientales vivantes. The copy possessed by that library—numbered R. VI 149—apparently lacks four leaves: 17-18 and 35-36 i.e. two pairs of conjugate leaves (for the book consists of 52 leaves bound as one signature), containing vv. 837-932 and 1875-2010. There is a colophon on the recto of the penultimate folio, reading: In Vinegia, per Francesco Rampazetto: ad Instantia | di M. Damian di Santa Maria. | MDLIII. The pagination

1. *BH XVII*, Vol. I, p. 28ff. No. 16; Lambros, *loc. cit.*, p. 269; Kontosopoulos, *Ath.* 58, 1954, 303; Brunet, *op. cit.*, col. 165.
2. Brunet, *op. cit.*, col. 165.
3. *BH XV/XVI I*, No. 29, pp. 286-9; Kontosopoulos, *Ath.* 58, 1954, 299; Veloudis, *op. cit.*, pp. 53 and 76.

follows that of the 1529 edition exactly, except on f. 8r where a smaller woodcut is used to replace that depicting Bucephalus in the 1529 edition, and part of the text is transferred to that page from the following verso. With that sole exception the woodcuts are the same as those of the *editio princeps*. There is another copy of the 1553 edition in the Staatsbibliothek, Munich.

Comparison of Cod. Met. 445 and the editio princeps. Three possibilities exist for the nature of the relationship between the manuscript and the first edition: a) the manuscript is a copy of the first edition (or of a later edition dependent on it)[1]; b) the edition was based on the manuscript; c) the edition and the manuscript have no direct relationship with one another, but are descended from a common archetype.

The evidence offered by the gaps in the manuscript has already suggested that the first possibility is the correct one; in particular, the two cases where the text of the manuscript stops before the end of a page and a large space is left blank for illustration on the following page[2] imply that the scribe was at pains to fit the illustrations in the same places as in the text from which he was copying.

Before, however, this hypothesis can be confirmed or rejected, it is necessary to proceed to a detailed comparison of the texts of the manuscript and the *ed. princ.* Such a comparison has already been made by Veloudis[3], but as he overlooks certain very important pieces of evidence he finally comes to the wrong conclusion. The following observations emerge from a comparison of the two texts:

a) the most widespread difference between the two is in the distribution of final -ν in the accusative singular of nouns and the third person plural of verbs. Its use is much more frequent in the manuscript, often with the result that metre, rhyme or grammatical canons are violated—but the edition is not entirely blamefree in this respect. Puristic tendencies (perhaps unconscious) on the part of the scribe or the printer are responsible for this predilection for final -ν;

b) the manuscript sometimes omits syllables, words and whole lines which are in the edition e.g. 149 κ', 205 τὸ [2], 932a τῆς μεσοποταμίας, 795 νά, 817 πῶς - 819 'Αλέξανδρε (second hemistich of 817, whole of 818 and first hemistich of 819 omitted because of repeated 'Αλέξανδρε), 1018 γιὰ (instead of γιατί), 1028 γιαναχήσω (for γιὰ νὰ κινήσω), 1254 τί, 1722-3 (two whole lines omitted), 1980 τὸ (for τόπον), 2245 ἄν, 2397 δυ', 2770-1 (two lines omitted) etc;

c) the manuscript sometimes has chapter headings not in the edition: before 1147, before 1859 and after 1874; sometimes the wording of the headings is different: 2472a, 2536a (see *apparatus criticus*);

d) the manuscript often prefers forms which are more puristic or less dialectal e.g. 97 ἀνάπτει for ἀνάφτει, 143 ἐκ (ὀκ), 222 ἀποθάνη (ἀπεθάνει), 250 ἐβλέπασιν (ἠβλέπασι), 261 ἐφώναξε (ἀφώναξε), 267 ἤξευρες (ἤξερες), 286 σούλεγε (σόλεγε) (the crasis of the two vowels ου and ε is regularly avoided in this way by the manuscript), 299 πράγματα (πράματα), 308 ἐγύρευσε (ἐγύρεψε), 359 πανδρεύθη (πανδρεύτη) etc.;

e) the manuscript has readings inferior to those of the edition and often clearly incorrect e.g. 26 στοὺς for 'κ τούς, 33 τους (του), 41 ἔγριππον (Αἴγυπτον), 74 βρίσκω εἰς (ὡς λέγουν), 232 ὅλοι τὴν ἀθιβάνουν (νὰ τὴν ἀναθιβάνουν), 297 θέλειορισει (ὀπ' ορίση), 321 ἄρματα (ἄλογα), 343 ὁ ἀλέξανδρος (ὁ Νικόλαος), 635 καὶ διάβηκε στὴν τύρο (στὴν Τύρο κ' ἐδιέβη), 636 ἐτύρο (γυρεύει), 681 τὸν ἐκανισκίζ (τόνε κανακίζη), 756 τὸ λοιπὸν (μετ' αὐτὸ), 802 στὸν πόλεμον (στὸν τόπον μου), 878 ἐφόβησε (ἐβόθησε), 911 νὰ πολεμοῦμε (διὰ νὰ μποῦμε), 1169 ὅτι (ἔτσι), 1243 καλὰ (ψηλὰ), 1263 τὸ λοιπὸν (ἐκ ψυχῆς), 1332 φόβος (φόνος), 1374 βλέπω (βλέπεις), 1609 τὸ λοιπὸν (μὲ σπουδὴν), 2057 τὸ λοιπὸν (φοβεροὶ), 2453 στρατιγὴ (ἀρχηγοὶ), 2476 ἀπάνου μας (στὸν τόπον μας), 2562 λέγουσι (λέγω σου), 2811 οἱ ζωντανοὶ (συζώντανοι) etc.;

f) in a small number of cases both the manuscript and the edition contain errors of a sort which can only be described as typographical: 22 οκαρτερῆς (a broken α used in the typesetting, resembling ο,—see also *Plate II*) 775 ὀλόγυρο ms, ὀλόγυρα ed. (inverted α), 940 κικούνεμας (misprint for νικούνεμας), 967 πάγω (misprint for πάρω), 1108 στρόγγκαλον ms, στρόγκαλον ed. (for στράγκαλον - broken α), 1639 ἔλεγάν μου ms, ἐλέγανέ μου ed. (the third ε is printed very faintly), 2151 μον (misprint for μου), 2614 ἐβλάπταμε ms, ἐβλάπαμε ed. (misprint for ἐβλέπαμε).

All the differences listed above in sections (a) to (e) can be explained on the hypothesis that the manuscript was copied from the edition. Particularly telling are the omissions of syllables, words and lines, due to careless copying, which entirely exclude the possibility that the edition was based on the manuscript. The few instances of chapter-headings found only in the ms. (section (c)) are slightly puzzling; the expla-

1. As the ms. is dated sixteenth century only the first two printed editions need be taken into account.

2. See above p. 14, n. 2.

3. *Op. cit.*, pp. 49-52.

nation lies in the fact that the frontispiece and the first six woodcuts of the edition are all preceded by chapter-headings which in fact describe the scene illustrated. The three headings which occur only in the manuscript all immediately precede or follow a space left blank for illustration. They were, therefore, intended by the scribe to serve as a guide for the illustrator when he came to perform his part of the work, at which time the edition would probably no longer be available for consultation as to the scene which was required to be depicted. Furthermore, the language of the three headings in question is verging on the illiterate — a further indication that they were extemporised by the scribe and not copied from his model.

The most conclusive argument in favour of the priority of the printed edition is, however, the series of misprints, listed above in section (f), which were naively copied by the scribe from the edition. There can be no other conclusion but that Codex Meteorensis 445 is a copy of a printed edition of the *Rimada*[1], and indeed of the *editio princeps* of 1529, since many of the misprints listed in (f) are removed by later editions. In the few cases where the readings of the manuscript are superior to those of the edition[2] — vv. 492, 2254 and 2418 (see *app. crit.*) — it is merely a question of the correction of obvious typographical errors.

Rather more space has been devoted to what is a relatively straightforward question than would have been necessary, but for the failure of Veloudis to clear up the matter once and for all in his collation of the manuscript and the edition. The conclusion put forward by him is that the manuscript and the edition were not directly dependent one on another, but were descended from a common archetype[3]. Since this view has been proved erroneous, the manuscript must now be relegated to a position of very meagre significance.

The printed tradition. The typographical history of the *Rimada* covers almost three centuries — beginning in 1529 and ending in 1805.

1. A similar case is Cod. 49 of the Benaki Museum, Athens, which is a copy of an eighteenth or early nineteenth century edition of the *Phyllada*; see Veloudis, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

2. Veloudis, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 49. The typographical evidence for the priority of edition over ms. was first mentioned in my review of Veloudis, *Balkan Studies* 10, 1969, 183-8. The same conclusion was reached on purely textual grounds by J. Trumpf, reviewing the same work in *BZ* 62, 1969, 348-50.

By the last date the language of the poem had become considerably antiquated and difficult for the average reader — or listener — to understand; modernisation of such a text in verse and rhyme presented grave problems and, besides, a prose text of the story of Alexander — the *Phyllada* — was also available and much more amenable to linguistic modification to keep it up to date. All these factors combined to bring about the demise of the *Rimada* at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

In the course of its printed history the *Rimada* underwent remarkably few and slight changes. The epilogue, which properly belongs only to the first edition, is reprinted in all editions until 1620, but disappears from the 1654 edition onwards. In general each successive edition is based on its predecessor, correcting some of its mistakes (but introducing others of its own) and, to a greater or lesser extent, «touching-up» the language to make it more «correct» or more intelligible. To illustrate these changes and, at the same time, the orthographic conventions (or rather, the lack of them) of the early printers, a short passage is given below in the editions of 1529, 1553, 1600, 1603, 1654 and 1794:

1529: Γύπτιοι διαλογίζονταν, ἐκτεναβος τίεγίνη,
ἐκάμασίν του πιστολὴ, γιανατουπέψουν κεῖνοι·
Ε'γράψαν καὶ τὰ λόγιατους, καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς νὰκούση,
τ' ἀφέντητους τοῦ κτεναβοῦ, ὀπίσω νὰ γυρίση·
Ο' κτεναβὸς ἐγένετον, εἰς τὴν μακεδονίαν,
περίφουμος ἠκούστηκε, κτὴν τέχνη τὴν μαγίαν·
(vv. 49-54)

1553: Γύπτιοι διαλογίζονταν, ἐκτεναβὸς τί ἐγίνη,
ἐκάμασίντου πιστολὴ, γιανατουπέχουν κεῖνοι.
Εγράψαν καὶ τὰ λόγιατους, καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς νὰκούση,
τ' ἀφέντητους τοῦ κτεναβοῦ, ὀπίσω νὰ γυρίση.
Ο κτεναβὸς ἐγένετον, εἰς τὴν μακεδονίαν,
περίφουμος ἠκούστηκε, κτὴν τέχνη τὴν μαγίαν.

1600: Γύπτιοι διαλογίζονταν, ἐκτεναβὸς τί ἐγίνη,
ἐκάμασίντου πιστολὴ, γιανατουπέψουν κεῖνοι.
Εγράψαν καὶ τὰ λόγιατους, καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς νακούση,
τ'ἀφέντητους τοῦ κτεναβοῦ, ὀπίσω νὰ γυρίση.
Ο' κτεναβὸς ἐγένετον, εἰς τὴν μακεδονίαν,
περίφουμος ἠκούστηκε, κτὴν τέχνη τὴν μαγίαν.

1603: Identical with 1600 except:
Ε'γράψαν καὶ τὰ λόγιατους, καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς νὰκούση,
τ'ἀφέντηςτους τοῦ κτεναβοῦ ...

1654: Γύπτιοι διαλέγονταν, ἐκτεναβὸς τι ἐγίνη,
Ε'κάμασίν του πιστολή, γιανατουπέψουν κείνοι.
Ε"γραψαν καὶ τὰ λογιάτους, καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς νὰκούση,
Τ'ἀφέντηςτους τοῦ κτεναβοῦ ὀπίσω νὰ γυρίση.
Ο'κτεναβὸς ἐγένετον, εἰς τὴν Μακεδονίαν,
Περίφημος ἠκούστηκε, κτὴν τέχνη τὴν μαγίαν.

1794: Αἰγύπτιοι διαλέγονταν, Ε'κτεναβὸς τί ἐγίνη,
ἐκάμασίντου ἐπιστολήν, γιὰ νὰ τοῦ πέμψουν κεῖνοι.
Ε'γράψαν καὶ τὰ λόγιά τους, καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς ν'ἀκούσῃ,
τ'ἀφέντη τοῦ 'Εκτεναβοῦ, ὀπίσω νὰ γυρίσῃ.
Ο' Κτεναβὸς ἐγένετο, εἰς τὴν Μακεδονίαν,
περίφημος ἠκούσθηκε, εἰς τέχνην τὴν μαγίαν.

The following observations may be made:
1) There are very few differences, misprints apart, among the first four editions.
2) Punctuation is stricly formalised: a comma at the half-verse and at the end of the first line of the couplet, and a semi-colon or full-stop at the end of a couplet, irrespective of whether the sense continues over the caesura or verse-end. In later editions more flexibility is permitted.
3) A chance misprint, ἀφέντης, in the 1603 edition still remains uncorrected in the edition of 1654.
4) The 1654 edition bears several signs of linguistic «improvement» e.g. διαλέγονταν, Ε"γραψαν, λογιάτους, περίφημος.
5) The process of purification has reached a more advanced stage by the 1794 edition e.g. Αἰγύπτιοι, ἐπιστολὴν, πέμψουν, ν'ἀκούσῃ, νὰ γυρίσῃ, ἐγένετο, ἠκούσθηκε.

Such differences could be noted throughout the text. From a more extensive comparison of the available editions and from the comments of Veloudis[1], the following conclusions emerge about the typographical history of the *Rimada*:
1) The *editio princeps* is carefully and conscientiously produced, with very few misprints but with all the orthographic peculiarities of its

1. *Op. cit.*, p. 96 and notes 63-66.

period — confusion of «itacised» vowels, frequent lack of word division, sporadic attention to accents and breathings, formalised punctuation etc. A Greek speaker must have been present and supervised the printing throughout, though it is possible that, as was not uncommon, the compositors who actually set the type were Italians with no knowledge of Greek.
2) The second edition of 1553 is virtually an exact reprint of the first edition, except that some corrections, with the intention of improving rhyme or metre, have been made, presumably by a Greek-speaking editor, and some literal errors have crept in. Otherwise the pagination and style of the edition imitate those of the *editio princeps*.
3) In the 1600 and 1603 editions again some attempt has been made at editorial «improvement», but to a limited extent. The edition of 1600 is dependent on that of 1553 and retained many of its misprints while introducing a considerable number of its own. The 1603 edition is similarly based on that of 1600; while some of the latter's misprints are corrected the majority are not, and many others are introduced. In the case of both these editions it seems that the task of «editing» the text i.e. a copy of the preceding edition, was given to a native Greek-speaker, who performed it without much apparent dedication. The work of type-setting was probably performed by Italian compositors with no knowledge of Greek — hence the high degree of inaccuracy. Furthermore, it is hard to believe that any proof-reading took place at all. These two editions are vastly inferior to their predecessors from every point of view.
4) The edition of 1620 continues the process of deterioration of the text; its main contribution is to introduce a new kind of error; part of a line is sometimes repeated through carelessness in the following line, so that the text becomes in places quite incomprehensible[1].
5) With the edition of 1654 the first serious attempt to «purify» the language of the poem may be perceived. It takes the form largely of adding final -ν to the accusative singular of nouns and augments to verbs, as well as replacing some outdated words with more intelligible ones, without regard to the damage caused thereby to metre or rhyme.
6) The edition of 1690[2] carries on the processes of purification and mod-

1. Veloudis, *op. cit.*, p. 96 and n. 63. The other errors noted there by Veloudis derive from the 1603 edition (which he cannot have seen) on which the 1620 edition is based.

2. Many of the changes in the 1690 edition listed by Veloudis, *op. cit.*, p. 129, are already present in the edition of 1654.

ernisation, which continue until the very last edition of 1805.

7) Each successive edition is dependent solely on its immediate predecessor, as far as can be ascertained. No external intervention may be detected, as for example any recourse to the manuscript tradition of the poem in an attempt to restore the original text. Thus, only the first edition need be taken into account for any critical edition of the poem. The conjectures of later editions are on a par with those of the contemporary editor, except insofar as they were nearer in point of time to the linguistic form of the original.

3. THE SOURCES

The modern Greek Alexander poem is based on a manuscript of the pseudo-Callisthenes which was in existence in the fifteenth or early sixteenth century, but is no longer, to the best of our knowledge, extant. Unquestionably this manuscript was in Greek, although it was believed by J.-Ch. Brunet that the poem was translated from an Italian version of the Romance[1]. This hypothesis has, however, been refuted by Veloudis, who by comparing the contents of the first canto of the popular Italian poem *Alesandreida in rima* with the corresponding passages of the *Rimada* revealed the numerous differences between the two verions[2].

That the model of the *Rimada* was in fact a Greek version of the pseudo-Callisthenes is proved by the presence of several close verbal similarities between it and the Greek prose texts of the α and β traditions, particularly where archaisms which cannot have been current in the sixteenth century have nonetheless been taken over bodily into the poem e.g.

305 «Χαίροις», τοῦ λέγει, τὸ λοιπόν, «'Αλέξανδρ' αὐτοκράτορ»
cf. pseudo-Callisthenes I 17 «Χαίροις κοσμοκράτωρ» (A), «χαίροις 'Αλέξανδρε κοσμοκράτορ» (β);

943-4 'Ο πόλεμος γὰρ δὲ φελᾶ ὀπὄναι τῶν φευγόντων,
μὰ τιμημένος βρίσκεται πὄναι τῶν διωκόντων

cf. II 9 οὐ γάρ ἐστιν ὁ πόλεμος τῶν (om. β) φευγόντων ἀλλὰ τῶν (om. β) διωκόντων. (The ready-made rhyme was too much of a temptation for the versifier!)

1303 Γράφει καὶ Πώρῳ βασιλεῖ - cf. II 19 καὶ γράφει Πώρῳ (A), καὶ γράφει Πώρῳ βασιλεῖ (β);

2286 τὰ ὧδε οἰκητήρια, οἶκοι θεῶν καλοῦνται
cf. III 21 τὰ ὧδε θεῶν οἰκητήρια καλεῖται (A), θεῶν οἰκητήρια τὰ ὧδε καλοῦνται (β).

But to which version, or text-group, of the pseudo-Callisthenes is the *Rimada* most closely related? According to Merkelbach[3], the poem

1. J.-Ch. Brunet, *Manuel du libraire et de l'amateur de livres*, Vol. I, Paris, 1860, column 165.
2. G. Veloudis, *Der neugriechische Alexander*, pp. 67-71.
3. R. Merkelbach, *Die Quellen des griech. Alexanderromans*, p. 64: «Es liegt ein Text der Rezension β zugrunde; aber in III 17-III 33 folgt er einem Text vom Typ A».

is based primarily on a version of group β, but from chapter III 17 to the end it follows a text of type A. Pfister [1] also adopts the view that the β version is the principal source. J. Trumpf, on the other hand, remarks that the poem is important for the older Romance and is based on a tradition related to A, but produces no evidence other than Merkelbach's statement [2]. (Presumably he means simply that the text of the poem from III 17 to the end is important for the older tradition of the Romance).

The only detailed examination of the sources of the *Rimada* which has been published so far is that of Veloudis [3]; this investigation leads him to substantially the same conclusions as Merkelbach viz. that the author of the modern Greek poem employed a later prose version of the Alexander Romance which he put into verse; and that this version was itself a compilation of texts of group β and (from III 17 to the end) group α of the pseudo-Callisthenes [4]. Furthermore Veloudis believes that there is a closer relationship between the poem and one particular manuscript of group β (Cod. Vatic. Gr. 1556 [V]), and consequently the writer of the prose model of the poem must have used a manuscript similar to V.

The search for the source or sources of the *Rimada* must certainly be concentrated on the available versions of groups α and β. None of the distinctive features of the later Greek versions is found (for example, the Jewish characteristics of group γ) and, moreover, there are no lengthy passages of any significance which cannot be traced to one or other of the available Greek versions of groups α and β [5].

Although the so-called β «version» is well represented by six principal mss. and a few secondary ones, the α «version» is only extant in Greek in a single ms. [6] — the Cod. Parisinus 1711 (A) — and that lacunose and in other respects imperfect. Therefore, in order to be able to consider the points of contact, if any, between the modern Greek poem

1. F. Pfister, «Alexander der Grosse in der byz. Literatur und in neugr. Volksbüchern» (*Probleme der neugr. Literatur* III, 1960), pp. 128-9.

2. J. Trumpf, *BZ* 55, 1962, p. 85: «Das von ... Demetrios Zenos herausgegebene Gedicht ist ein auch fur den alteren Roman wichtiger Text. Es basiert auf einer mit A verwandten Überlieferung, so richtig Merkelbach, Quellen S. 64». For Merkelbach's exact words see above.

3. G. Veloudis, *op. cit.*, pp. 57-71.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 61.

5. The short passages which are not found in either A or β are listed in an Appendix with, wherever possible, references to other versions in which they occur.

6. Ms. L has a text very close to that of A only as far as I 11.

and the α version of the romance, it is necessary to have recourse to other witnesses of that tradition — in particular the Latin translations of Julius Valerius (fourth century) and Archpriest Leo of Naples (tenth century), and the Armenian version, which preserves an excellent and full text, but also the Syriac and Ethiopic versions, and papyri and mss. which preserve fragments of texts of the tradition [1]. Only with the aid of these is it possible to build up a complete picture of the α tradition, in the same way that a β «version» can be compiled by assembling the common features of a number of very similar mss.

The following table provides examples from the early chapters of the Romance of points at which the Modern Greek poem seems at first sight closer to the β group than to ms. A. But as A is a far from perfect witness of the α tradition, the other witnesses of that tradition have also been consulted in order to establish whether a particular feature of the modern Greek poem is typical of that tradition or alien to it. Thus in the right-hand column of the table will be found references to other witnesses of the α tradition which agree with both the poem and group β against ms. A (see pp. 28-29).

1. These are: Pap. Hamb. 129 (see R. Merkelbach in *Griechische Papyri der Hamburger Staats-und Universitäts-Bibliothek*, Vol. 4, 1954); Cod. Vat. gr. 1700 (see G. Ballaira, «Frammenti inediti della perduta recensione δ del Romanzo di Alessandro in un codice vaticano», *Bolletino del Comitato per la prep. della Ed. Naz. dei Classici Greci e Latini*, N.S. XIII, 1965, 27-59); and Paris Nat. Bibl. ms. Suppl. gr. 689 (see J. Trumpf, «Eine unbekannte Sammlung von Auszügen aus dem griechischen Alexanderroman», *Classica et Mediaevalia* 26, 1965, 83-100).

POINTS AT WHICH THE *RIMADA* AGREES WITH β AGAINST A

Line of *Rimada* and Chapter of ps-Call.	Feature	β (ed. Bergson)	A (ed. Kroll)	Other witnesses agreeing with *Rimada**
30-33 I 2	Nectanebus compares enemy to sheep attacked by wolf	εἷς λύκος πολλὰς ἀγέλας ποιμνίων ἐσκύλευσεν.	—	L I 2 Arm. 3 Syr. p. 3 Eth. p. 8
47-48 I 3	A new king will conquer Persia	τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἡμῶν Πέρσας ὑποτάξει.	ἐχθρῶν ὑποταγὴν διδοὺς ἡμῖν.	Arm. 5
65-6 I 4	Seeing the disc Olympias ordered all to leave	Θαυμάσασα δὲ ἡ 'Ολυμπιὰς τὴν τοῦ πίνακος πολυτέλειαν παρακάθηται τῷ N. κελεύσασα πάντας ἀποστῆναι.	—	Arm. 9 Val. I 3
69 I 4	Nect. asked her Philip's date of birth	'Ο δὲ N. εἶπε πρὸς αὐτήν· «Θὲς τὴν σὴν γένvησιν, θὲς καὶ τοῦΦ.»	—	Arm. 9 Val. I 3
93-100 I 5	Nect. extracts juice from herbs and moulds candle-wax in the shape of Olympias	pp.7.15-8.3	—	Arm. 10 Eth. p. 15 Val. I 4
125-144 I 7	Nect.'s visits to Olymp. disguised as Ammon (told at greater length)	pp.9.10-10.14	pp.7.16-8.4	Arm. 13-14 Eth. p. 17 Val. I 4
167 I 8	He replied, «Your dream is true»	ἀληθής ἐστιν ὁ ὄνειρός σου (B) ἀληθές ἐστιν ὅπερ εἶδες ἐν ὀνείρῳ (KV)	...καθὼς ἐθεάσω...	Arm. 17 Val. I 4 Eth. p. 22
194 I 10	The dragon was transformed into a hawk	μεταβάλλει ἑαυτὸν ὁ δράκων εἰς ἀετὸν καὶ ἵπταται.	...ἀφανὴς ἐγένετο.	Arm. 21 Val. I 4 Eth. p. 25 cf. L I 10
197-8 & 201-4 I-10	Philip was terrified... and said, «The gods aid Ol.» She told him that it was the god of Barbary	pp.14.13-15.1	—	Arm. 22 Eth. pp. 25-6 Val. I. 4 (Epit.)

* References are given either to pages (Budge's translations of Syr. & Eth.) or to the Chapters with which texts are customarily divided (Arm., Val., Leo.). A reference in brackets indicates that only part of the relevant feature is found in that text; the abbreviation «cf.» indicates that there is not complete agreement between the *Rimada* and the text quoted.

Other points at which the *Rimada* appears to agree with the β tradition against A are to be found at vv. 253, *279* (I 14), 349-350 (I 19), 365 (I 20), *367*, 381 (I 20-21), 385-6 (I 22), *416-8*, 422 (I 23), 443-4, 451 (I 24), *646*, *657*, *667* (I 35), 675 (I 36), 782 (I 39), 871-3 (I 41), 891-2 (I 44), 924, 941-2 (II 9), 1009 (II 10), 1031, 1033, 1040 (II 11), 1110, 1115-8, 1133-4, 1139-40 (II 14), 1190 (II 15), 1194-5, 1202, 1207, 1215, 1224-5 (II 16), 1255, *1271* (II 17), *1292*, 1295-6, 1298 (II 18), 1345-6 (II 20), 1395-6, 1432, 1452-4, 1475 (II 21), 1499, 1501-4 (II 22), 1507-1734 (II 23-41), *1752* (III 1), 1833-48, 1853-4, 1858 (III 3), *1880* (III 4), 1915 (III 5), 1949-62, 1965-70 (III 6), *2136* (III 17), *2189-91* (III 18), 2201-6, 2221-3 (III 19), 2282 (III 21), *2361-2* (III 22), 2377, 2385-6 (III 23), *2431-3*, 2440-1 (III 24), 2485-6, 2490 (III 25), 2519-20, 2535-6 (III 26), 2552-68 (III 27), 2617, *2645*, 2651 (III 28), 2713 (III 31), *2801* (III 32), 2817 (III 33), 2909-14, 2929-42 (III 33-4).

In the vast majority of cases one or more witnesses of the α traditoin other than A, support the reading of the modern Greek poem. There are, however, some 17 instances (the references in italics above) where only the β tradition, as we know it, can be adduced as the source of the reading of the poem. A partial dependence at least on the β tradition must therefore be supposed. Furthermore, in eight cases the Armenian version alone of the α witnesses agrees with the poem. It must be noted that the translator of the Armenian version is generally believed to have had at his disposal a manuscript of the β tradition, in addition to the α text on which he primarily based his work[1]. If this is so, there are a maximum of under thirty instances in the *Rimada* where the only extant witnesses which constitute a satisfactory source may be representing the β tradition.

If, on the other hand, the same type of analysis is applied to discover what elements of the poem exhibit a positive affinity with A (ignoring, for this purpose, the other witnesses of the α tradition) against β, the following list is obtained (a number of doubtful cases where the relationship is not absolutely plain have been excluded):

vv. 1-6, 8 (I 1), 67 (I 4), 134 (I 7), 155-6 (I 8), 172-4 (I 8-9), 215-6(I 11), 452 (I 24), 491 (I 26), 499-500 (I 28), 527 (I 30), 552 (I 31), 575-581, 589-94 (I 32), 610 (I 34), 634 (I 35), 773-6 (I 39), 833-4, 855 (I 41), 931-2, 947, 951 (II 9), 1011-2 (II 10), 1037, 1043, 1047-50 (II 11), 1073, 1083-4 (II 12), 1106 (II 13), 1147-56 (II 14), 1157-8, 1184 (II 15), 1213 (II 16), 1249, 1251, 1274 (II 17), 1289-90 (II 18), 1327, 1329-32 (II 19), 1363, 1383 (II 20), 1411, 1434-48 (II 21), 1483 (II 22), 1769, 1780-2, 1817-20 (III 2), 1862-3 (III 3-4), 1963-4 (III 6), 1991-2092, 2109-10, 2129-31 (III 17), 2138-42 (III 17-18), 2153-60, 2172, 2178, 2189 (III 18), 2196 (III 19), 2324 (III 22), 2515-6 (III 25), 2546, 2559-61, 2565-6, 2569-70 (III 26), 2572-91 (III 27), 2606-12, 2622, 2623, 2636, 2647-50 (III 28), 2702, 2723-8, 2733-4, 2737-44 (III 31), 2767-86, 2788 (III 32), 2818, 2819-28 and 2833-2906 (III 33).

1. See above, Chapter 1, p. 7, n. 1.

It is notable that the points at which the modern Greek poem agrees with A are distributed evenly throughout the poem: they are not, as Merkelbach and Veloudis have suggested, confined to the section from III 17 to 33 or the end. Furthermore, the formidable number of correspondences with A (75) would appear to give the impression that the modern Greek poem stands in a much closer relationship to the α than to the β tradition.

A different type of analysis, on the basis of episodic content, tends to produce the same conclusion: the *Rimada* agrees more often with A than with β as regards the omission or inclusion of episodes not common to all the three texts in question.

The evidence presented above indicates that the *Rimada* is dependent from beginning to end on both (what are now termed) the α and β traditions of the Romance. The weight of evidence does, however, suggest a greater dependence on α than on β. The list of points at which the *Rimada* agrees with β against A has already indicated that the *Rimada* and Arm. are frequently in agreement with one another. In fact the *Rimada* is more closely related to Arm. than to any other extant version of the Romance. A comparison of the episodic content of these two texts shows that the differences between them are restricted to the following:

1) After I 16 Arm. has the correspondence initiated by Zeuxis about Alexander's allowance (only in Arm., Val., and Syr.).
2) I 23 - the painting of Alexander's portrait is not in Arm. at this point (only in *Rimada*, Syr., and β).
3) I 32 - the episode of the snakes is omitted by the *Rimada*.
4) I 33 - the Serapis episode is drastically shortened by the *Rimada*; Arm. follows A in the main, but some details are given in two versions - α and β - showing that two sources were used.
5) The section from the end of I 41 to the beginning of I 44 is omitted by the *Rimada*. The fact that the prototype of A lacked the corresponding leaves indicates that A and the *Rimada* are closely related.
6) The section from I 45 to II 8 is completely omitted by the *Rimada*, presumably because of a lacuna in an ancestral manuscript.
7) II 18 - there is a lacuna in Arm. Part of the chapter is missing.
8) II 22 - the *Rimada* omits two letters which are found in A, β and Arm.
9) II 39 - the «water of life» episode is omitted by Arm.
10) II 41 - Arm. omits the story of the punishment of the cook who discovered the water of life.

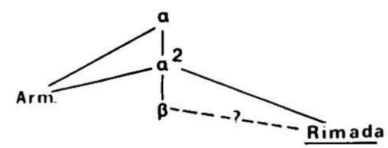
11) III 18 - the beginning of Candace's letter is omitted by the *Rimada* and β (but not by A and Arm.), probably because of the corrupt state of the text.
12) III 21 - the description of the sights on Alexander's journey is fuller in A and Arm. than in the *Rimada* and β.
13) III 27 - the letter to Olympias in Arm. begins at the same point as in A, not earlier as in the *Rimada* and β.
14) III 27 - the letter of Aristotle to Alexander is found only in Arm., Val., and Syr.
15) III 32 - the story of Perdiccas' scheming is in A and Arm. but not in the *Rimada* or β.
16) III 35 - the *Rimada* omits the chronology of Alexander's life and the list of cities be built, which are in A, Arm., and β. Many of these differences are of little significance because they are to be explained as later omissions in the transmission of Arm. or by lacunae in a manuscript from which the *Rimada* is descended. Arm. has long been regarded as offering an excellent and full text of the Romance [1]. The text of the *Rimada,* despite its lengthy lacunae (I 41-4 and I 45 - II 8), its versified form and its literary shortcomings, is therefore deserving of particular attention, especially because it has undergone a continuous process of transmission in the same language. At many points it offers a text which is more complete and closer to the original version than any other extant Greek version.

However, the presence of β elements in the *Rimada* requires some explanation: the obvious conclusion is that at some stage in the transmission of the text on which the modern Greek poem is founded a compilation of the two traditions was made, producing a «contaminated» version. It is curious that this assumption must be made not only for the *Rimada* but also in the case of the Armenian version. In the latter's case there is some evidence to support this, in the form of double versions of some episodes: I 26, I 33, III 33. But there is no reason to assume from this that all the so-called β elements in Arm. derive from a separate source from the basic text. Indeed, it has been shown [2] that Arm. often preserves genuine original elements, while A has corrupted the text. It is worth remembering also that what is generally termed the «β version» is in fact merely a compilation of the common features of a group of half a

1. Cf. Ausfeld, *Der griechische Alexanderroman,* p. 13, Merkelbach, *op. cit.,* p. 64.
2. R. Merkelbach, *op. cit.,* pp. 64-5.

dozen manuscripts, of which only one was in existence in the eleventh century (S, which contains only III 30-35) and the remainder are not anterior to the thirteenth century. The assumption that the texts of these manuscripts are substantially identical with an original of the fifth century is, in a tradition which has known as much continuous change as the Alexander Romance, one which cannot be made without considerable positive evidence.

A far more likely hypothesis is that the first revision of the α tradition was a far less drastic one than is suggested by the extant β witnesses. It may be supposed that this first revision (which may be called α) [2] was a source of both Arm., which also drew upon a manuscript of the original version, and of the ancestor of the *Rimada.* Such a hypothesis in no way excludes the possibility that some β elements may later have found their way into the tradition of which the *Rimada* is the last link. The relationship between Arm. and the *Rimada* could then be represented thus:



The immediate model of the Rimada

It has been suggested by Veloudis that the *Rimada* must have been based on a prose version of the Romance in a more or less popular language, rather than one in a more archaic linguistic form [1]. L. Politis, however, rejects as unnecessary the hypothesis of an intermediate modern prose version, believing that it is quite conceivable that a popular versifier could read an ancient Greek text [2].

However, the existence of such a modern prose version does not need to be hypothesised. The evidence (ignored by Veloudis) takes the form of one of the manuscripts of the Alexander Romance—Bodleian misc. 283 (P), written in 1516 [3]. Similarities between this text and the

1. G. Veloudis, *op. cit.,* p. 73.
2. *Ell.* 23, 1970, p. 390.
3. For a description of the manuscript see L. Bergson, *Der griehische Alexanderroman. Rezension β,* p. XIX.

Rimada were first pointed out by Lambros, who concluded that the AG original of P or a similar translation into MG was used by Zinos in his Alexander poem [1]. (He believed Zinos to be the author of the *Rimada*). The following are among the most striking verbal similarities between the two texts (P is given first):

I 1 ἔκραζε τοὺς δαίμονας - 15 τοὺς δαίμονας νὰ κράζῃ.

I 2 ἄφες τοὺς περιδιαβασμούς - 23 verbatim.

I 7 καὶ εὐθὺς ἐκατέβην ἀπὸ τὸ κραββάτιν καὶ διέβην κρυφίως εἰς τὴν κατοικίαν αὐτοῦ - 133-4 Καὶ τότε ἐκατέβηκε ἐκ τὸ κρεβάτι κάτου | κ' ἐδιάβη ὁ Νεκτεναβὸς ἐκεῖ στὴν κατοικιά του.

I 9 εὗρε τὴν 'Ολυμπιάδα λυπουμένην - 175 'Εκ' ηὗρε τὴν 'Ολυμπιά, πολλά'τον λυπημένη.

I 21 ἐσπαθοκατέλυσεν ὅλους τοὺς καλεσμένους καὶ ἐγένετο ἐκδικητὴς τῆς μητρός του - 378-9 κ' ἐγίνηκε ἐκδικητὴς ἐτότες τῆς μητρός του. | Ἔπιασε κ' ἐκατάκοψε ὅλους τοὺς καλεσμένους.

I 23 διὰ τὴν γῆν τὴν πατεῖτε καὶ τὸ νερὸ τὸ πίνετε - 403-4 Γιὰ γῆ ὁποὺ πατεῖτε, | καὶ γιὰ νερὸ ποὺ πίνετε.

I 39 καὶ γράφεις μας ἵνα ὑπάγωμε ἀπάνω του - 793 Καὶ γράφεις μας νὰ πάγωμε αὐτεῖνον γιὰ νὰ πιάσου.

I 39 ἵνα συνάξῃς δύναμιν - 795 νὰ συνάξῃς δύναμιν.

II 9 ταῦτα εἶπε καὶ ἐθαρσοποίησέ τους καὶ ἐποίησέ τους προθύμους εἰς τὸν πόλεμον - 947-8 'Ετοῦτα εἶπ' 'Αλέξανδρος κ' ἐθρασοποίησέ τους, | προθύμους εἰς τὸν πόλεμον μὲ λόγους ἔκαμέ τους.

II 10 γίνωσκε δὲ ὅτι γρήγορα θέλεις χάσειν τὸ κεφάλιν σου - 1025 Γνώρισε τὸ κεφάλι σου γλήγορα νὰ τὸ χάσῃς.

II 13 καὶ ἦλθον εἰς βοήθειάν σου - 1098 κ' ἦλθα 'ς βοήθειά σου.

II 13 καὶ μηδὲν φοβῆσαι· ἐγὼ εἰμὶ βοηθός σου - 1102 καὶ μὴ φοβῆσαι τίποτες, ἐγὼ 'μαι βοηθός σου.

II 21 καὶ εἴτι κρατεῖ ὁ κάθε εἷς πάλιν ἂς τὸ ἔχῃ - 1425 Εἴτι ἐκράτει πασαεἷς, πάλι ἂς τὸ μετέχῃ.

II 21 ἐσχημάτισα τὸν λόγον μου - 1470 τὸν λόγον μου σχημάτισα.

II 22 καὶ ἔθαψά τον ἔντιμα ὡς πατέρα μου - 1488 καὶ ἔθαψά τον ἔντιμα ὡς πατέρας μου ὁποὺ 'το.

II 33 καὶ ὥρισα νὰ ἐκδύσουν γυναῖκα νὰ ὑπάγουσιν εἰς ἐκεῖνον μήπως ἔλθῃ εἰς ἐπιθυμίαν αὐτῆς - 1587-8 ὥρισα δὲ νὰ γδύσουσι γυναῖκα νὰ τοῦ πᾶσι, | φόρις νὰ ἔλθῃ 'ς πεθυμιὰ καὶ νὰ τὴν ἀγκαλιάσῃ.

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1. Sp. Lambros, «Διήγησις 'Αλεξάνδρου ἐν κώδικι 'Οξωνίου Misc. 283 καὶ Δημήτριος Ζῆνος», *NEH* 16, 1922, 266-271. See also H. van Thiel, *Die Rezension λ des Pseudo-Kallisthenes*, p. 14ff. Van Thiel rejects Lambros' contention that there is a close relationship between P and the Zinos poem.

The list could be prolonged almost indefinitely. Clearly these similarities are too numerous to be coincidental; there must be, as Lambros concluded, a close relationship between P and the *Rimada*. However, the two texts coincide by no means completely. The text of P has a thoroughly mixed character: in Book III it gives by and large the λ version of the Romance, but with a few α and β elements interpolated [1], while the first two books offer basically a text closely related to the *Rimada*, but with some passages interpolated from a β-type text [2].

The close similarities with the *Rimada* admit of two possible explanations: either P and the *Rimada* are dependent on a common ancestor, or else P has drawn directly on a manuscript of the *Rimada* [3]. The second possibility is improbable: faced with a choice between two manuscripts, one in prose and one in verse, a scribe would naturally prefer to follow the text of the former as the basis of his own prose text and to reject the verse text [4]. A simple comparison of P with manuscript A is sufficient to show the former's dependence on the latter to a considerable degree and its independence of the *Rimada*. For example, the first sentence of P: Οἱ σοφοὶ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ὑπῆρχον ἐν ἀγκῶνα τῶν θεῶν εἰς οὓς καὶ ἐπίστευον. ἐν ἀγκῶνα is an obvious corruption of A's ἀπόγονοι, while the word is not found in the *Rimada* at all; again, in the first chapter, P reads correctly ἔλεγεν ἐπωδὴν καὶ ἔκραζε τοὺς δαίμονας, while the *Rimada* has (v. 15) καὶ ἄρχιζε μὲ τὴν σπουδὴν τοὺς δαίμονας νὰ κράζῃ. Metre excludes the possibility that any versified text can have offered the writer of P the correct reading ἐπωδήν. It is, therefore, certain that

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1. See H. van Thiel, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

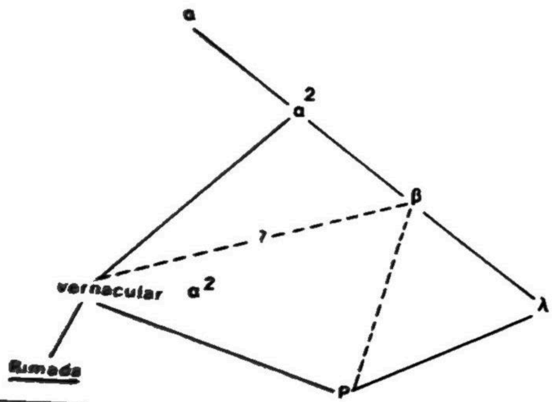
2. There are two large lacunae in P, caused by the loss of a number of leaves from the codex. They occur after f. 6 (corresponding to chapters I 10 to I 20) and after f. 8 (I 24 to I 32). The corresponding verses of the *Rimada* are 189-364 and 441-601. According to van Thiel, *op. cit.*, p. 14, there are probably 8 leaves missing in each case. But as each manuscript page corresponds generally to approximately 20vv. it appears rather that 4 leaves are missing from each lacuna. According to the original foliation these would be $1,^{7-8}$, $2,^{1-2}$ and $2,^{5-6}$. This agrees with the quire numbering of the manuscript, as f. 9 is in fact numbered Γ'.

3. It is out of the question that P is the direct prototype of the *Rimada* because of the β and λ features which are absent from the latter.

4. It is interesting to note here that the scribe of one of the manuscripts of the late-Byzantine prose romance—Koutloumousi 236—tried to supplement the narrative of his incomplete prototype by putting into prose the relevant portions of the *Rimada*. After writing four pages of barely disguised political verses, he abandoned the attempt; see K. Mitsakis, *BNJ* 20, 1968, p. 246ff.

the text from which the scribe of P derived the elements which are common to the *Rimada* was in prose.

At least two manuscripts were used simultaneously by the scribe of P: the basic one was a modern Greek paraphrase of the Romance closely related to the *Rimada* (α^2); but this was supplemented with elements taken from an orthodox β -type manuscript which the author «modernised» to a greater or lesser extent, with a thorough inconsistency. The elements of the β tradition make their first noticeable appearance in I 35, and thereafter quite frequently, especially in I 37-8, I 41-4, I 46, II 6-8, II 11, II 13, II 14, II 15, II 17, II 18 etc. From the middle of II 38 a new element appears: the λ version, again linguistically modernised to some extent. Since it is only in Book III that the λ version is greatly at variance with β, it is possible that the second source of P was a single manuscript of the λ type. In Book III P becomes quite faithful to the λ version, but at certain points (vv. 2189-91, 2450, 2544) it is possible to discern again the common ancestor of P and the *Rimada*[1]. It thus seems probable that the scribe of P had this vernacular prose text available for the whole of the Romance, but chose to follow his λ - type model almost exclusively from II 38 onwards. The relationship which exists between P and the *Rimada* and their ancestral versions may be illustrated thus:



1. It is hoped to make a separate study of the text of manuscript P, in which the problems concerning its sources and its relationship to the *Rimada* will be discussed in detail.

To summarise: the *Rimada* is more closely related to the α than to the β tradition and probably dates back to a version intermediate between α and β which is closely related to the model of the Armenian translation. It is, however, possible that β elements may have infiltrated the tradition from which the *Rimada* descends during the course of the manuscript history of that tradition. The immediate ancestor of the *Rimada* is a prose text in the vernacular, probably composed in the second half of the fifteenth century, a manuscript of which was also employed by the compiler of P.

The Relationship between the Rimada and the Phyllada

As has already been mentioned, the *Rimada* and the *Phyllada* have followed completely separate lines of transmission, the former being descended from the α and β traditions and the latter from the ε version of the Romance. Nonetheless, a comparison of the two texts reveals astonishingly close verbal similarities at certain points:

1) Nectanebus' flight from Egypt and his meeting with Olympias (*Phyllada* pp. 50-53[1], *Rimada* vv. 7-100, I 1-5) (a few scattered verbal correspondences only—not complete identity);
2) Olympias' dream (p. 54, vv.101-122, I 5-6) (extremely close similarity);
3) Olympias' seduction, Alexander's birth and Nectanebus' death (pp. 54-59, vv. 123-288, I 7-14) (many verbal similarities);
4) Nikolaos' death (p. 62, vv. 349-352, I 19) (a few similarities);
5) Darius' banquet (pp. 126-7, vv. 1159-76, II 15) (several verbal similarities);
6) the correspondence between Alexander and the Amazons (pp. 167-170, vv. 2459-2550, III 25-6) (extremely close verbal similarity);
7) the poisoning of Alexander (pp. 199-200, vv. 2717-20, 2751-2, 2733-4, III 31) (verbal similarities at several points);
8) Alexander's will (pp. 203-4, vv. 2819-72, III 33) (many similarities);
9) the death of Bucephalus (pp. 206-7, vv. 2915-22, III 33) (fairly close correspondence).

The existence of these similarities was noted by J. Trumpf[2], who

1. References to the *Phyllada* are given according to the pagination of the «Galaxias» edition: A. A. Pallis, *'Η Φυλλάδα τοῦ Μεγαλέξαντρου*, 1961 (reprinted 1968).
2. J. Trumpf, «Zur Überlieferung des mittelgriechischen Prosa-Alexander und der Φυλλάδα τοῦ Μεγαλέξαντρου», *BZ* 60, 1967, p. 34ff.

concluded that, in addition to the late-Byzantine («middle-Greek») prose Alexander Romance, the compiler of the *Phyllada* had recourse to another source which is no longer extant, but to which the *Rimada* is related.

At certain points it is possible to compare the texts of three separate versions of the Romance in «popular» Greek: the *Phyllada*, the *Rimada*, and parts of manuscript P—a text very close to that which must have served as the model of the *Rimada* and which may be equated with the no longer extant source referred to by Trumpf. The following table shows the points at which the three versions exhibit close textual correspondences [1]:

	P	*Phyllada* (1780) [2]	*Rimada*
I 1 11-12	καὶ ποτὲ ἐάν ἐφαίνετον φωσάτον νὰ ἔρχεται ἀπάνω του οὐδὲν ἐξέβαινεν εἰς πόλεμον ἀλλὰ ἐπήγαινεν εἰς τὸ παλάτιν του καὶ ἐποίει λεκανομαντεία.	καὶ καμίαν φοράν δὲν ἐξέβαινεν εἰς πόλεμον, ἀλλὰ ἐκάθονταν εἰς τὸ παλάτι του, καὶ ἔκανε ταῖς μαγίαις του.	ποτέ του δὲν ἐξέβαινε σὲ πόλεμον, <'ς> στρατεία, μὰ κάθετον στὸ σπίτι του κ' ἔκανε τὴν μαντεία.
I 2 33-4	«σὺ δὲ ὕπαγε καὶ πολέμα τὴν δουλείαν σου· καὶ ἐγὼ μὲ λόγον ἕνα ταῦτα τὰ ἔθνη θέλω τὰ καταποντίσειν».	«σύρε, ἀναπαύσου, καὶ ἐγὼ μὲ ἕνα λόγον θέλω τοὺς κάμει ὅλους νὰ ἐπιστρέψουν εἰς τοὺς τόπους τους...»	«πρὸς τὸ παρὸν ὕπαγε, ἀναπάψου, καὶ μ' ἕνα λόγον τὸ λοιπὸν ὅλοι τους γιὰ νὰ πάψουν».
I 3 39-41	ἔβαλεν ἄλλα ροῦχα καὶ ἐξούρισεν τὰ γένια του καὶ ἔλαβε χρυσάφι πολὺ καὶ ἔφυγεν.	καὶ εὐθὺς ἐξούρισε τὰ γένιά του, καὶ ἄλλαξε καὶ τὴν φορεσίαν του, καὶ ἐπῆρε καὶ δηνάρια κοντά του ὅσα ἐμπόρεσε καὶ ἔφυγεν...	τὰ γένια του ἐξούρισε, τὴν φορεσά τ' ἀλλάζει, καὶ βάνει κ' εἰς τὸν κόρφον του στάμενα νὰ ξοδιάζῃ. Ἔφυγεν...

1. The available material is limited by the fact that P has two large lacunae (see above) and in Book III follows in the main the λ version of the Romance.

2. The edition of 1780 was the earliest available for this comparison; it is employed in preference to the «Galaxias» because the latter is based on a nineteenth century edition and differs quite considerably at many points.

	P	*Phyllada* (1780)	*Rimada*
I 4 57	ὡς δὲ ἐξέβην ὁ Φ. εἰς τοὺς πολέμους...	ἐκείναις δὲ ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐδιάβη ὁ Φ. ἔξω διὰ νὰ πολεμήσῃ μὲ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς του.	Ὡσὰν ἐδιάβη Φ. ἔξω νὰ πολεμήσῃ...
I 5 105-6	ἐφάνη την ὅτι ἦλθεν ὁ Ἄμμων ὁ θεὸς καὶ ἐνεπλάκη τὴν Ὀλυμπιάδα καὶ συνεγγίνετο αὐτῇ· ὕστερον δὲ εἶπεν την· «γίνωσκε ὅτι θέλεις ποιήσειν παιδὶν καὶ θέλει σὲ ἐκδικεῖν».	καὶ εἶδε πῶς τὴν ἐπλάκωσεν ἀπάνου εἰς ἕνα χρυσὸν κρεββάτι, καὶ τῆς εἶπε· «σήμερον ἡ μήτρα σου νὰ λάβῃ παιδίον».	Εἶδε πὼς τὴν ἐπλάκωσε ἀπάνω σὲ κλινάρι, κ' εἶπε· «Ἡ μήτρα σου παιδὶ νὰ λάβῃ καὶ νὰ πάρῃ».
I 6 111-3	λέγει αὐτὴν ὁ Νεκτεναβών· «ποταπὸν εἶδος εἶδες αὐτὸν ἔχοντα;» ἡ δὲ εἶπε· «μεσοπόλιον ἔχων ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ ὡς τράγου κέρατα...».	ὁ δὲ Ἐκτεναβὸς τῆς εἶπε· «σὰν τί λογῆς τὸν εἶδες;» ἐκείνη δὲ τοῦ εἶπεν· «ὡσὰν ἕνα τράγον μεγαλοκέρατον...».	Λέγει της ὁ Νεκτεναβός· «Σὰν τί πρᾶμα τὸν εἶδες;» «Σὰν τράγον μεγαλόκερον ὀπὄναι μὲ τὲς γίδες. Καὶ ἔχει καὶ τὰ κέρατα ἀπάνω στὴν κεφάλη...».
I 7 139-40	καὶ εἶπεν ὁ Νεκτ.· «ἐγὼ προφήτης εἶμαι τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ Ἄμμωνος καὶ ἐὰν θέλεις δῶσαι μου ἐξουσίαν τελείαν νὰ σεβαίνω εἰς τὴν κοίτην σου ἀνερωτήτως καὶ ἐγὼ νὰ φέρνω πάντοτε τὸν Θεὸν νὰ ὁμιλῇ μετά σου».	καὶ ὁ Ἐκτ. τῆς εἶπε· «δός μου τελείαν τὴν ἄδειαν διὰ νὰ σοῦ τὸν φέρνω κάθε βράδυ».	Ἀπιλογήθη Κτεναβός· «Δῶσ' μου ἄδειάν τελείαν διὰ νὰ φέρνω τὸν Θεὸν μ' ἁγίαν ὁμιλίαν».
I 8 167-8	ὁ δὲ μάγος εἶπεν τῷ Φιλίππῳ· «τὸ δραμά σου, βασιλεῦ, ἀληθινὸν ἐστίν· τὸν θεὸν ὃν ἑώρακας ἐστὶ θεὸς μέγας...».	καὶ ὁ Μάγος τοῦ ἀποκρίθη· «αὐτὸ τὸ ὄνειρον ὁποῦ εἶδες, εἶναι ἀληθινόν, καὶ αὐτὸν ὁποῦ εἶδες εἰς τὸ σπῆτι σου, ἔχε τον διὰ Θεόν σου...».	Κι' αὐτὸς ἀπιλογήθηκε· «Ἀλήθεια τ' ὄνειρό σου, αὐτεῖνον πού 'δες σπίτι σου, ἔχε τον γιὰ θεό σου».
II 15 1170	ἤκουσε ταῦτα ὁ Δαρεῖος καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐξεπλάγησαν.	Καὶ ἐθαύμασαν οἱ ἄρχοντες τὴν τόσην του ἀποκοτίαν.	οἱ ἄρχοντες ἐθαύμασαν σ' ἐκεῖνο ὀπ' ἀκοῦσαν.

The following conclusions may be drawn from this comparison:
1) The verbal correspondences between the *Rimada* and the *Phyllada* are often so close as to exclude the possibility of a coincidental choice of the same words by two separate adaptors of a common source.
2) The text of the *Phyllada* could not have been derived directly from P without the intermediate stage presented by the *Rimada.*
3) The *Rimada* is of necessity a rather free adaption of its model: it was often necessary for the sake of metre or rhyme to introduce superfluous material which is sometimes retained in the *Phyllada* (the «bed» of v. 105 and the «house» of v. 168 are good examples).

Thus the stages of development are: a prose text very similar to that which is preserved—though not in its entirety—by P, was put into rhyming verse by the anonymous author of the *Rimada*; at some stage in the transmission of the *Phyllada* (whether at the manuscript or the printed stage cannot be said with certainty) certain episodes were extracted from a text of the *Rimada* (from one of the printed editions, it may be assumed)[1], put into the everyday spoken Greek of the period, and embodied in the text of the *Phyllada.*

1. Only one piece of evidence suggests a particular edition of the *Rimada*: the reading ἐξέβαινε (v. 11) of the 1529 edition was changed to ἐξέβανε in later editions. The *Phyllada* agrees with the earlier text. Though this evidence is admittedly flimsy, it may perhaps indicate that the *Phyllada*'s compiler borrowed from the 1529 edition of the *Rimada*, rather than from a later one. It is just possible that a manuscript, not a printed edition, of the *Rimada* was employed, but rather unlikely in view of the interval of time separating the first edition of the *Rimada* from that of the *Phyllada* (about 150 years) and the ready availability of printed copies of the *Rimada* in Venice, which would naturally tend to supplant manuscripts.

4. THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE *RIMADA* AND THE CIRCUMSTANCES OF ITS FIRST EDITION

The Epilogue of the early edition of the *Rimada* informs the reader that it was published «κόπος καὶ δεξιότητι Ζήνου τοῦ Δημητρίου» (v. 58). Early students of the poem assumed from this that Zinos was the author since no author's name is explicitly stated elsewhere[1]. Legrand, however, in his *Bibliographie Hellénique*, established that Zinos was no more than the first editor of the work[2]. A comparison with the epilogues or colophons of other early printed books confirms this view; for instance the 1514 edition of Musaeus' *Hero and Leander* is stated to have been printed «δεξιότητι δημητρίου δούκα τοῦ κρητός»[3]; the 1515 edition of Pindar's *Olympian Odes* has the phrase «πόνω καὶ δεξιότητι, Ζαχαρίου καλλιέργου τοῦ κρητός»[4]; and a further variation of the formula is found in the colophon to a Lexicon of 1523: «πόνω τε καὶ ἐπιδιορθώσει, Ζαχαρίου καλλιέργου τοῦ κρητός»[5].

It is clear, therefore, that the role indicated by such expressions is not the author's but that of the man who prepares the text for the press and corrects the proof sheets, and perhaps also has a supervisory role in the actual printing. Such was the part played by Dimitrios Zinos in the publication of the first edition of the *Rimada* and, indeed, this is made quite clear at the beginning of the Epilogue, which speaks of the search for a good manuscript and the difficulty of correcting it for the press:

> Ἐκεῖνος ποὺ τὸ τύπωσε μεγάλα γὰρ ἐπόθει
> νὰ 'βρῃ τὰ κατορθώματα καὶ πράξεις τ' Ἀλεξάνδρου
> καὶ πῶς ἐθανατώθηκε 'κ τὰ χέρια τοῦ Κασσάνδρου·
> νὰ εὕρῃ κι ἀθιβόλαιον νά 'ναι διορθωμένο

1. Cf. Vretos, *Νεοελληνικὴ φιλολογία,* Μέρος Β' (1857), p. 21, N. Katramis, *Φιλολογικὰ ἀνάλεκτα Ζακύνθου* (1880), p. 256 etc. For a full list see Veloudis, *Der neugriechische Alexander,* p. 79. Some more recent scholars have also tacitly accepted this view e.g. G. Zoras, «Ἡ Ἑπτάνησος καὶ ἡ ἀνάπτυξις τῆς λογοτεχνίας αὐτῆς», *NE* 1964, 20-1 (= *Ἑπτανησιακὰ Μελετήματα,* τόμ. Α', 1960, 70-72); R. Merkelbach, *Die Quellen des griechischen Alexanderromans,* 64.
2. *BH XV/XVI,* vol. I, p. 289.
3. *Ibid.,* No. 42.
4. *Ibid.,* No. 47.
5. *Ibid.,* No. 68.

εἰσὲ σκοπὸν καὶ ἔννοια καὶ ὀρθογεγραμμένο.
Λοιπό 'λαχε καὶ ηὗρε το κ' εἶχε τὸ ἐναντίο
ἀπ' ὅλα ὅσα εἴπαμε, καὶ νὰ εἰπῶ τὸ ποῖο·
σφαλτὸ καὶ ἀδιόρθωτο καὶ κακογεγραμμένο
κι ἀπὸ τὴν παλαιότητα ἦτον διεφθαρμένο ...
'Ημεῖς, τὸ ἠμπορέσαμε, ἐκάμαμε μὲ κόπον,
κι ἂν ἒν σφαλμένο τίποτες εἰσὲ κανέναν τόπον,
σὲ ρίμα ἢ εἰς ἔννοιαν ἢ εἰς κανέναν τρόπον,
τὸ σφάλλειν ἔναι τῶν βροτῶν καὶ τῶν θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων.

(vv. 2-10, 19-22)

Stylistic evidence also confirms the hypothesis that Zinos cannot have been the author of the *Rimada*: the one work definitely known to have been written by Zinos—the translation into MG of the *Batrachomyomachia* [1]—is a much more skilful composition. It is not overloaded with redundant expressions such as τὸ λοιπόν, γάρ, τότε, as the *Rimada* is, and it is clearly the work of a more educated man, as an excerpt will show:

Ὅλους λοιπὸν παρακαλῶ (νά 'χετε τὴν ὑγειά σας)
εἰς νοῦν καλὰ νὰ βάλετε, ν' ἀνοίξετε τ' αὐτιά σας,
ν' ἀκούσετε γιὰ τί ἀφορμὴ οἱ ποντικοὶ ἐποῖκαν
στοὺς βορθακοὺς μάχην πολλήν, κ' εἰς πόλεμον ἐμπῆκαν,
κι ἀνθρώπους ἐμιμήθησαν, τοὺς παλαιοὺς τοὺς ἄνδρες
(ὡσὰν τὸ λέγουν κι ᾄδεται) τοὺς φοβεροὺς γιγάντες.

(vv. 7-12)

A difference may also be perceived between the language of the Epilogue, which must be assumed to have been written by Zinos, and that of the *Rimada* itself: in particular, the former employs a very high proportion of learned elements e.g. ὀρθογεγραμμένο, κακογεγραμμένο, οὐκ οἶδα, ἡμεῖς, τὸ σφάλλειν, βροτῶν, θνητῶν, ἐκέκτητο, συνειδός, τὰς χεῖρας, ταύτην, ἐπὶ γῆς, φύλαξον ἐμοί, εἰ δέ, etc [2].

1. The probable date of publication is 1539—see *BH XV/XVI* No. 100. It was reprinted by Martin Crusius in his *Turcograecia* (1584) and subsequently by Lang (1707), Ilgen (1791), Lécluse (1829), Mullach (1837), Katramis (1880) etc.

2. The *Rimada* is not of course devoid of learned elements itself (see Ch. 6) but they occur with much greater frequency in the Epilogue. Another difference is that εὐνοῦχος has its correct accentuation in the Epilogue v. 33, while it is wrongly accented εὔνουχος at v. 1329.

The obvious conclusion is, therefore, that the *Rimada* is notthe work of the same man as the Epilogue and it follows that Dimitrios Zinos cannot have been the author of the *Rimada* [1]. At this point an excursion will be made to consider what is known about the life and literary activities of Zinos.

Dimitrios Zinos

All the references to him mention Zakynthos as his native island, but the year of his birth is unknown [2]. It is possible that he was related to the scholar Alexander Zeno, as has been suggested by Katramis [3], but without any proof being adduced. Zeno was a Greek Uniate priest who succeeded Dimitrios Chalkondylis as Professor of Greek letters at Padua University ca. 1473 and occupied the chair for four years [4].

Dimitrios Zinos spent much of his life in Venice, where he is said to have had connections with Aldus' printing-house [5]. However, it is not with the Aldine printers that his known publishing activities are associated. The first recorded publication in which Zinos played a part seems to have been the first edition of the poem *Πένθος θανάτου, ζωῆς μάταιον, καὶ πρὸς Θεὸν ἐπιστροφή*, which appeared in Mach 1524 [6]. Although no copy of this edition survives, the prologue to the second edition of 1543 [7], headed «Δ. ΤΟΥ ΖΗΝΟΥ», clearly indicates the date of the first, and names its editor as follows:

1. This conclusion (Legrand's) has been accepted by H. Gleixner, *Das Alexanderbild der Byzantiner*, 69, Knös, *L'histoire de la littérature néo-grecque*, 310, Mitsakis, *BNJ* 20, 1968, 236, and Veloudis, *op. cit.*, 72.

2. The Zinos family is listed as belonging to the Μέγα Συμβούλιον τῆς Μεγαλοπρεποῦς Κοινότητος Ζακύνθου from 1574 (see L. Ch. Zois, *Ἱστορία τῆς Ζακύνθου*, Athens, 1955, p. 137) and in 1597 it is mentioned as enrolled in the *Libro d'oro* (Zois Lex., p. 303). Following earlier authorities Zois dates Dimitrios as «ἀκμάσας ... περὶ τὰ 1530» (*ibid.*, p. 344).

3. *Op. cit.*, 255. Katramis has also suggested that Zinos may perhaps have studied in Italy with his relative.

4. See Facciolatus, *Fasti Gymnasii Patavani* (1757) I p. 1v, Geanakoplos, *Greek Scholars in Venice*, p. 38.

5. «Συνῳκειώθη τοῖς τυπογράφοις Ἄλδοις (sic)»; see P. Chiotis, *Ἱστορικὰ ἀπομνημονεύματα τῆς Νήσου Ζακύνθου*, Corfu, 1849-58, vol. 2, p. 354.

6. *BH XV/XVI* I No. 69, *BI* I No. 6.

7. *BH XV/XVI* I No. 102, *BI* I No. 28.

Διὰ νὰ μάθετε λοιπὸν 'ς τί τόπον ἐτυπώθη,
πόνος καὶ δεξιότητι, καὶ ποῖος τὸ ἀναλώθη,
Δημήτριος κατ' ὄνομα, Ζῆνος τὸ ἐπινόμι,
ἐτοῦτο ἐτυπώθηκε μὲ τὴν δική μου γνώμη·
Γραικῶν ὑπάρχω γενεά, Ζακύνθου πατριώτης,
'ς τὴν Βενετιὰν ἐγένετον, τὸ ἄνθος τῆς ὁλότης [1].

From the above, it appears that Zinos also sustained the expenses of publication, which suggests that he was already by 1524 a man of some standing. From this it may be inferred that he was born during the last decade or two of the fifteenth century.

Two other works published in 1524 at the da Sabbio press bear the name of Zinos: a *Psalter*[2]—«πόνω καὶ δεξιώτητι δημητρίου τοῦ ζήνου, τοῦ ἐκ ζακύνθου»; and an *'Ωρολόγιον*[3] dated 13 August 1524, «πόνω καὶ δεξιότητι Δημητρίου τοῦ ζήνου, τοῦ ζακυνθίου». For these works, then, Zinos served as editor and corrector i.e. he was responsible for obtaining a reliable manuscript of the work to be published, preparing it for the press and correcting the proofs. Other liturgical books for which he performed the same function are the *Πεντηκοστάριον* of 1525 [4], the *Ψαλτήριον* of 1534 [5], the *'Απόστολος* of 1534 [6], and the *Τριῴδιον* of 1538 [7]. For another publication his role was that of financial backer, in partnership with a certain Menander Nuntius (or Noukios)[8]. The book in question is *'Η Θεία Λειτουργία τοῦ 'Αγίου 'Ιωάννου τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου*, published in August 1528 by Giovanni Antonio da Sabbio and his brothers, «sumptu & expensis D. Demetrii Zini Zacynthii: & D. Menandri Nuntii Corcyraei sociis»[9]. In all his known publications Zinos' name is associated with the press of the da Sabbio family, whose importance as printers of

1. For Zinos' connection with this poem, see the edition of G. Zoras: *Πένθος θανάτου, ζωῆς μάταιον καὶ πρὸς Θεὸν ἐπιστροφή*, (Βιβλιοθήκη Βυζαντινῆς καὶ Νεοελληνικῆς Φιλολογίας 49), Athens, 1970, esp. pp. 11-14.

2. *BH XV/XVI* I No. 70, *BI* I No. 7.

3. *BH XV/XVI* I No. 71, *BI* I No. 8.

4. *BH XV/XVI* III No. 270, *BI* I No. 9.

5. *BH XV/XVI* III No. 333, *BI* I No. 18.

6. N. P. Delialis, *Κατάλογος ἐντύπων Δημοτικῆς Βιβλιοθήκης Κοζάνης*, Μέρος πρῶτον, Salonika, 1948, No. 106, pp. 28-9.

7. *BH XV/XVI* I No. 96, *BI* I No. 21.

8. In all probability he was of the same family as the well-known Andronikos or Nikandros Noukios (see Legrand, *BH XV/XVI* I, p. 202).

9. *BH XV/XVI* I No. 80, *BI* I No. 13.

liturgical books and works in MG in the first half of the sixteenth century cannot be overestimated[1].

Not all Zinos' activities, however, are directly connected with printed books. He was according to Legrand «le prototype de certains Grecs du seizième siècle, pauvres hères qui, malgré leurs professions multiples, en étaient réduits à vivre au jour la journée. Nous le voyons tour à tour compositeur d'imprimerie, éditeur, traducteur, calligraphe et marchand de manuscrits»[2]. For his work as a manuscript copyist he was numbered among the best Greek calligraphers by Montfaucon[3], who mentioned a Commentary on the Psalms copied by Zinos and preserved in the Bibliotheca Angelica, Rome[4]. Another manuscript written by Zinos still survives in the Escorial Library. It contains a Paraphrase of the *Nicomachean Ethics* and is numbered 157 (formerly T-II-18)[5]. There may have been other manuscripts written by Zinos at the Escorial: according to d'Aristarchi[6], he copied at Venice, probably for Diego Hurtado de Mendoza[7], some manuscripts which bear his signature and are in the Escorial. Two other manuscripts have been attributed to Zinos' hand, both in the Bodleian Library, Oxford: Auct. E. 1. 5 f. 289—end

1. See Kontosopoulos, «Τὰ ἐν Βενετίᾳ τυπογραφεῖα ἑλληνικῶν βιβλίων κατὰ τὴν Τουρκοκρατίαν», *Ath.* 58, 1954, 293ff.; A. Raes, «Les livres liturgiques grecs publiés a Venise», *Mélanges Eugène Tisserant* (= *Studi e Testi* 233), 1964, 211ff.; E. Follieri, «Su alcuni libri greci stampati a Venezia nella prima metà del cinquecento», *Contributi alla storia del libro italiano - Miscellanea in onore di Lamberto Donati*, Florence, 1969, 119-164 esp. 161ff; and N. Tomadakis, «Ἡ ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ ἔκδοσις ἑλληνικῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν βιβλίων (κυρίως λειτουργικῶν) γενομένη ἐπιμελείᾳ Ἑλλήνων ὀρθοδόξων κληρικῶν κατὰ τοὺς ΙΕ'-ΙΣΤ' αἰῶνας», *ΕΕΒΣ* 37, 1969-70, 3-33.

2. *BH XV/XVI* I p. 179.

3. *Palaeographia Graeca*, p. 513: «Codex ejusdem illustrissimi Abbatis Dominicis Passionei, ubi anonymus in Psalmos in fine habet 'Εξεγράφη τοῦτο τὸ βιβλίον παρὰ Δημητρίου τοῦ Ζήνου Ζακυνθίου Scriptus est hic liber a Demetrio Zeno Zacynthio». See Katramis, *op. cit.*, p. 257.

4. The manuscript, dated 1534, had formerly been in the possession of Cardinal Passionei, but is now lost; see Piccolomini, *Studi Italiani* 4, 1896, 16 and 6, 183, Vogel - Gardthausen, *Die griechischen Schreiber des Mittelalters und der Renaissance*, p. 101.

5. A. Revilla, *Catálogo de los códices griegos de la Biblioteca de El Escorial*, Vol. I (1936), p. 501. The Paraphrase has been mistakenly attributed to John Cantacuzene, amongst others; see D. M. Nicol, «A Paraphrase of the Nicomachean Ethics attributed to the Emperor John VI Cantacuzene», *Byzantinoslavica* 29, 1968, 1-16.

6. «Les Grecs à l'Escurial», *Πεντηκονταετηρὶς τοῦ ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει 'Ελληνικοῦ Φιλολογικοῦ Συλλόγου (1861-1911)*, Supplement to vol. 34, 1913-21, 372.

7. On Mendoza see above p. 15, note 1.

(a Commentary on the Psalms), and Auct. E. 2. 11 ff. 1-94 (Clement of Alexandria)[1]. These attributions are perhaps not absolutely certain, though the watermarks certainly point to Venice as the origin of the paper[2]. Of these four manuscripts only the lost Angelicanus was dated (1534), so that it is not possible to infer from them any further indications as to Zinos' lifespan than what is already known.

Another aspect of his work, however, does shed further light on the question. He was entrusted by Jerome Fondulo with the task of collecting Greek manuscripts for Francis I. After touring Corfu, Zakynthos and other neighbouring areas, he managed to acquire «quarante pièces de libvres» and presented himself to the French ambassador at Venice, Guillaume Pelicier, Bishop of Montpelier, who recommended him to Pierre du Chastel, the royal librarian, in a letter dated 10 July 1540. Later the same year Zinos was entertained by the Bishop of Montpelier while engaged in correcting for him the texts of good Greek authors[3].

The activities of Zinos which are documented thus cover the period from 1524 to 1540 and range from manuscript copying to editing and correcting, as well as financial enterprises as publisher and dealer in manuscripts. The time has now come to consider the extent of his contribution to the text of the *Rimada*, as it is presented in the first edition of 1529.

Little research has so far been devoted to the study of the methods employed by the early editors of MG texts. However, from the investigation of the 1529 edition of the *Theseid* undertaken by Follieri[4], it seems that sometimes quite extensive changes took place in the course of the process of transforming a manuscript into a printed text[5]. That

1. E. Lobel, «Cardinal Pole's Manuscripts», *Proceedings of the British Academy* 17, 1931, 97-101: for corrections to the numbering see Canart, *Scriptorium* 17, 1963, 62.

2. In particular the presence of the «star surmounted by anchor»; see C. M. Briquet, *Les Filigranes* (edited by Allan Stevenson), Amsterdam, 1968, vol. 1, p. 40

3. *BH XV/XVI* I, 179-180. The relevant letters of Pelicier to Pierre du Chastel were published by H. Omont, «Catalogue des manuscrits grecs de Guillaume Pelicier», *Bibliothèque de l'École de Chartes* XLVI, 1885, pp. 45-83 and 594-624; for references to Zinos see especially pp. 613, 614, 616, 622-3. (I am indebted to Professor N. Panagiotakis for this information).

4. See especially «La versione in greco volgare del Teseida di Boccaccio», *Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici* 7, 1953 (= *Atti dello VIII Congresso Internazionale di Studi Bizantini*), 67-77.

5. The modifications noted by Follieri from her comparison of Cod. Paris. 2898 with the edition and the manuscript used by the printers (Palat. gr. 426) are (*op. cit.*, pp. 71-2): corrections of metrical irregularities, removal of apparent illogicalities, introduction of a slightly more literary language, elimination of some Italian loanwords and replacement of elision by aphaeresis. However, it cannot be excluded that some of these changes took place in the course of transmission and were not introduced by whoever prepared the text for printing. A comparison of manuscript Palat. gr. 426 with the manuscripts known to have been copied by Zinos shows extremely close similarities of letter formation and orthographic practice (allowing for the fact that the former is a roughly-written working copy for the press while the others are calligraphic copies). When the numerous linguistic similarities between the editions of the *Rimada* and the *Theseid* and the curious practice of substituting aphaeresis for elision (see Ch. 6 pp. 90-1) are added to this, it seems almost certain that Dimitrios Zinos was the editor of the 1529 edition of the *Theseid* and the writer of manuscript Palat. gr. 426. In a letter dated 3 April 1971, Professor Enrica Follieri, the editor of Book I of the *Theseid*, accepts the identification of Zinos as the editor of the first edition.

some changes were introduced by Zinos into the text of the *Rimada* is implicit in his statement that the manuscript he used as the basis of his edition was «σφαλτὸ καὶ ἀδιόρθωτο καὶ κακογεγραμμένο» (E9) and, later, «Ἡμεῖς, τὸ ἠμπορέσαμε, ἐκάμαμε μὲ κόπον κτλ.» (E19). The precise nature and extent of his contribution will, however, never be known (except in the unlikely event of a manuscript of the *Rimada* being discovered in the future), but it can certainly not be a question of wholesale improvement or rewriting. The *Rimada* is, on the whole, in very close agreement with the earlier prose versions (particularly, of course, with manuscript P), none of which can have been available to Zinos to enable him to correct the poem by comparing it with its antecedents. Besides, the popular, unscholarly and sometimes barbaric character of the work remains unimpaired — or rather unimproved. It seems likely, therefore, that Zinos' contribution was restricted to trivia — orthography and spelling, distribution of final -ν, the occasional improvement of rhyme and metre etc. Probably, too, some of the blame for the corrupt state of many of the proper names of the text must be attributed to Zinos' misreading of the barely legible manuscript he had to deal with[1].

But if Zinos was not the author of the *Rimada*, who was? Only one other name has been mentioned in this connection, that of Markos Defaranas. Another native of Zakynthos, he is known as the author of two didactic poems written in the first half of the sixteenth century: the *Λόγοι διδακτικοὶ τοῦ πατρὸς πρὸς τὸν υἱὸν*[2] which is in fact a plagiarisation

1. Metre, however, shows that much of the corruption was already present in the text written by the anonymous versifier, and perhaps also in his prose model.

2. Edited by S. Karaiskaki, *Λαογραφία* 11, 1934-37, 1-66; for corrections and

of the work of the same title by the Cretan Marinos Falieros [1]; and the *'Ιστορία τῆς Σωσάννης* [2]. Legrand was the first to suggest that Defaranas may have written the *Rimada*: «L'auteur de ce poème est peut-être Marc Depharanas, de Zante» [3]. More recent scholars have tended to abandon the theory that Defaranas may have been the author [4], arguing that linguistic differences and the absence of an acrostic (by which method Defaranas identifies himself as author of his two known works) exclude that possibility. Veloudis [5], however, has tentatively revived the hypothesis of Defaranas as author, pointing to similarities between the mention of Olympias' adultery with Nectanebo in the *Λόγοι διδακτικοί* and the way the story is related in the *Rimada*. The relevant verses in Defaranas' poem are:

'Ιδὲς αὐτεῖνο τό 'καμε αὐτείν' ἡ 'Ολυμπιάδα,
τ' ἀνδρός της κάμνει κέρατα μεγάλα σὰν λαμπάδα.
Μὲ κεῖνον τὸν Νεκτεναβόν, πού 'τονε ὀκ τὴν 'Γυπτίαν,
μ' αὐτεῖνον καταπιάστηκε [καὶ] κάμνει τὴν ἁμαρτίαν.
Καὶ λέει τ' ἀνδρός της Φίλιππου ὅτι μὲ τὴν γητεία(ν)
αὐτείνη ἐγγαστρώθηκε κ' ἤτουνε ἡ αἰτία.

(vv. 673-8)[6]

The phraseology of the above quotation is not particularly close to anything in the *Rimada*; on the contrary, the metaphorical significance of κέρατα is something which did not occur to the versifier of the *Rimada*. Certainly there are linguistic similarities between the works of Defaranas and the *Rimada*, but this is only to be expected in compositions which originate from the same dialectal area and which draw on a common cultural stock of semi-oral and folk poetry. The reference to Olym-

additions see Kriaras, *Ath.* 46, 1935, 136-152 and Georgakas, *ΕΕΒΣ* 11, 1935, 507-510.

1. M. Manousakas, *'Η Κρητικὴ λογοτεχνία κατὰ τὴν ἐποχὴ τῆς Βενετοκρατίας* (1965) p. 18 and note 1.

2. Edited by Legrand, *Bibliothèque grecque vulgaire*, Vol. I (1880), 269-280.

3. *BH XV/XVI* I No. 129, p. 289. But Legrand later refers to «l'Alexandre de Démétrius Zén...», *ibid.*, IV, pp. 38-9.

4. S. Papadimitriou, *'Ο Στέφανος Σαχλίκης καὶ τὸ ποίημά του* 'Αφήγησις παράξενος. Odessa, 1896, p. 227 (this work was not available for consultation); Karaiskaki, *op. cit.*, p. 5f.

5. *Op. cit.*, pp. 73-74.

6. The passage comes from a section of the poem which is not based on Falieros.

pias and Nectanebo *may* derive from the *Rimada*, but as the theme is also found in the earlier prose versions of the Romance Defaranas' knowledge of it may equally well have originated from one of them.

However, the major objection to Defaranas as the author of the *Rimada*, pace Veloudis [1], is one of style and expression. A wide gulf separates the maladroit versification of the *Rimada*, which employs τὸ λοιπόν, γάρ, τότε etc. *ad nauseam* for metrical convenience, from the comparatively more sophisticated tone of Defaranas' works (though the latter are no masterpieces) — a gulf which cannot be ascribed purely to the editorial intervention of Zinos. The only possible conclusion, therefore, as to the connection of Defaranas with the *Rimada* can be that of Krumbacher [2]: «Die Vermutung von E. Legrand ... dass dem Depharanas auch die gereimte Bearbeitung der Geschichte Alexanders des Grossen gehöre, ist nicht stichhaltig».

Two other contemporary Zantiotes who might be considered as possible candidates for the authorship of the *Rimada* are Tzane Koronaios and Pachomios Rousanos. In both cases there are strong arguments against their having written the *Rimada*: the former's work *'Ανδραγαθήματα τοῦ Μερκουρίου Μπούα* [3], though containing many dialectal elements, abounds in archaisms, accent violations and metrical licences to a vastly greater extent than the *Rimada*, and in any case it is possible that Koronaios died in 1527 [4]; Rousanos, well known for his attack on the Venetian printers for the numerous misprints their books contained [5], was not born until 1508 [6], which virtually rules him out of consideration as the versifier of the *Rimada*.

Thus the *Rimada* must remain an anonymous work. All that is known about its author is that he was a Zantiote and roughly contemporary with Zinos. That he was a man of no great education is obvious from the style of his work. He can perhaps best be described as a man with some facility for versification and feeling for rhythm who had learned to read and write, but who lacked sufficient originality to com-

1. *Op. cit.*, p. 74; he maintains that «linguistic» differences cannot exclude that Defaranas was the author of the *Rimada*.

2. *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur*, 2nd edn., 1897, p. 822.

3. Published by Sathas in his *'Ελληνικὰ ἀνέκδοτα* Α', 1867, 1-153.

4. Knös, *op. cit.*, p. 314.

5. See Lambros, «Αἱ κατὰ τῶν τυπογράφων τῆς Βενετίας αἰτιάσεις τοῦ Καισαρίου Δαπόντε καὶ τοῦ Παχωμίου Ρουσάνου», *NEll* 2, 1905, 337-351, esp. 344ff.

6. See Kontosopoulos, *op. cit.*, 310. Rousanos was in any case a more scholarly man than whoever wrote the *Rimada*.

pose a story of his own or to add any new material to an existing one. In a less literate age he would probably have been simply a story-teller.

Though Zinos preserved for posterity the name of the author of another work for whose publication he was responsible—*Πένθος θανάτου*[1] by Gioustos Glykos (or Glykys)—he chose to remain silent about the author of the *Rimada*, whose identity he certainly knew. It is not too fanciful to suggest that this silence on the part of Zinos may have been deliberate—a punishment for the author's failure to co-operate with him by providing him with a fair copy of his work for publication.

The circumstances of the publication of the editio princeps

It is now time to examine in greater detail the events and processes leading up to the publication on 15th September 1529 of the first edition of the *Rimada*.

The poem was written some years before this date if the evidence of the Epilogue that the manuscript used by Zinos was an old and dilapidated one can be relied upon. It is difficult to estimate the necessary time required for a work of this nature to become well-known but perhaps ten years is the minimum possible interval between composition and publication. A *terminus post quem* for the composition of the *Rimada* is offered by the fact that its author seems to have been familiar with the *Κοσμογέννησις* of Georgios Choumnos[2], which was written about 1490[3]. All that can be said about the date of composition of the *Rimada* is, therefore, that in all probability it was written some time between 1490 and 1520[4].

From vv. 2ff. of the Epilogue it seems that the initiative for the publication came from «ἐκεῖνος πού τὸ τύπωσε». This phrase might possib-

1. The relevant verses of the Prologue are:

   Ποίημα ἐστὶν τὸ ἔμπροσθεν κ' ἔβγαλμα 'κ τὴν Κορώνη,
   ἀπὸ τὸν Γιοῦστον τὸν σοφόν, τρέχουσιν δύο χρόνοι,
   τὸν νουνεχῆ καὶ φρόνιμον, πρᾶξιν τε καὶ θεωρία,
   κὺρ 'Ιωάννου τοῦ Γλυκοῦ, πόναι εἰς ἀπωρία...

see Penth. Than., p. 64.

2. See Chapter 5.

3. See M. I. Manousakas, «Ό ποιητὴς Γεώργιος Χοῦμνος, νοτάριος Χάνδακος», *ΕΕΒΣ* 21, 1951, 280-2.

4. Veloudis (*op. cit.*, p. 72) is perhaps not far out when he estimates the date of composition as *circa* 1500 on the evidence that the author was still alive in 1529 (according to the Epilogue) and the manuscript used by Zinos was an old one.

ly refer to Zinos himself, whom we should call the editor, or to the actual printer Giovanni Antonio da Sabbio, or to the financial backer Damiano di Santa Maria who is named in the colophon[1]. The first possibility, that Zinos is referring to himself, is improbable for he goes on to do so in the first person at v. 15ff. Although Stefano da Sabbio knew MG—he was the author of the quadrilingual phrase-book entitled *Corona Preciosa*, published in 1527[2]—there is no evidence to suggest that his brother Giovanni Antonio did so, and it is therefore unlikely that he played any part beyond that of undertaking the actual printing of the *Rimada*.

The third possibility is the most likely one. The colophon states that the *Rimada* was printed «at the instance of Damiano di Santa Maria». Damiano[3], a native of Spič in Illyria, was active as a publisher in Venice from 1524 until 1553, during which time he was concerned exclusively with Greek books—liturgical and popular—destined for the Greek-speaking population of Italy, Greece and elsewhere, i.e. not for the scholars of the west. It is therefore virtually certain that he spoke MG and there are also some indications that his activities were not restricted to providing financial backing but that he also took an interest in the text and illustrations of the works he published[4].

It is probable then that Damiano conceived the idea of producing for the Greeks a version of the Alexander Romance similar to that which was available to Italian readers[5]. At length, perhaps through Zinos, he heard of a MG version of the Romance suitable for popular consumption, and managed to secure a manuscript copy of it. Unfortunately the manuscript was badly written and in a generally shabby condition, so Zinos was asked to obtain from the author himself, who was perhaps an acquaintance of his, a fair copy for publication. The author's copy never arrived and so Zinos was obliged to make the best of a bad job and prepare the existing manuscript for the press[6]. How he did so has already

1. The colophon reads: Finito Alexandro Magno Stampato in Venetia per Giovan Antonio & Fratelli da Sabbio. ad instantia di M. Damiano de Santa Maria, nel MDXXIX.

2. See Follieri, «Su alcuni libri greci», p. 128.

3. For an informative biographical sketch of Damiano see Follieri, *ibid.*, p. 156ff.

4. Follieri, *op. cit.*, p. 160. He was responsible for planning, the illustrations of the 1526 edition of Loukanis' *Iliad*.

5. The *Alexandreida in rima* had been published first in 1512 and again in 1521; see D'Essling, *Les livres à figures vénitiens*, seconde partie, Florence - Paris, 1909, pp. 244-5.

6. Veloudis, *op. cit.*, p. 73. A different view, now abandoned, of the events leading

been touched upon[1]. Most of the changes will have been slight, but certain features of the printed text require closer inverstigation, viz. the chapter-headings and the «Γνωμικὰ» or proverbs.

The Chapter-headings

To consider first the chapter-headings, which number 58 in all, the first striking fact about them is that they are scattered haphazardly about the text, neither dividing it up into sections of roughly equal length, nor always referring to the whole of the passage which follows before the next heading is reached. In general their substance is taken from the verses which immediately precede or follow them and they thus contribute nothing to the narrative itself. (The exception is v. 458a where there would otherwise be no introduction to Alexander's letter—or rather speech, as it should be—to the Greeks). In some instances the chapter-heading does not quite tally with the narrative e.g. 1770a refers to ἀποκρισάροι whereas the body of the text mentions only one ἄνθρωπος; 1410a uses the word διαλαλιά while the narrative refers to a γραφή. Sometimes the heading is very succinct and does not actually repeat or paraphrase the narrative, e.g. 842a Δαρείου πόλεμος πρῶτος; 1332a Φόνος Δαρείου. There is a small group of genuine chapter-headings, which do in fact summarise the narrative of a fairly long passage which follows. Such are: 332a Περὶ τὸ δικάσιμον 'Αλεξάνδρου καὶ Νικολάου, 258a, Περὶ τὸ πῶς ἐσυνέβη ὁ θάνατος τοῦ 'Εκτεναβοῦ, 124e Περὶ τὸ πῶς ἐνέμπαιξεν ὁ Νεκτεναβὸς τὴν 'Ολυμπιάδα.

However, the vast majority of the 58 are drawn from lines in their immediate vicinity. Their language tends to be of a somewhat more formal character than the text itself, e.g. ἕτερος instead of ἄλλος (980a), σῶμα for κορμάκι (2926a), and frequently the relative ἥν (786a etc.) which is nowhere used in the main body of the text.

This more formal language, together with the occasional discrepancies between heading and text (in the instances cited above it is the heading which is correct), suggest that the chapter-headings may derive from an earlier prose text. This is probable, for it seems to have been customary in texts of the Alexander Romance (and in other medieval

up to the first edition was suggested by the present writer in *Balkan Studies* 10, 1969, 186.

1. See above, p. 42-48.

Greek manuscripts) to break up the narrative by means of rubric headings, which served not only to beautify the manuscript but also to facilitate reference to a particular passage. Whether all the headings derive from the prose ancestor of the *Rimada* or whether some were added by the poet himself, or by later copyists, or by the editor, cannot be determined[1].

The «Γνωμικὰ»

Under the heading Γνωμικὸν are found in the first edition of the *Rimada* (and in later editions) ten short passages, each consisting of one or two rhyming couplets, and all of a sententious character. They have been numbered in the present edition as follows: 20a-b, 34a-d, 42a-d, 54a-d, 124a-d, 182a-b, 184a-b, 202a-b, 276a-d and 394a-b. All are in rhyming trochaic octosyllabics, except the last, the first line of which appears to be in trochaic fourteen syllable metre, but the second has an additional syllable at the beginning which makes it equivalent to a political verse.

All of them occur in the first 400 verses of the *Rimada*, which suggests that whoever was responsible for their incorporation—they do not derive from the tradition of the Alexander Romance—had intended to adorn the work throughout with such «morals» but for some reason abandoned his intention. Similar or identical proverbs to six of these ten have been discovered in collections of proverbs or elsewhere[2].

Another sententious saying of a similar kind is found embodied in the text itself:

> Τοῦ φίλου ὁποὺ λέγουσι μιὰ δυὸ κατὰ τὴν ὥρα,
> καὶ τρίτο πάντα τὄρχεται κ' ἔναι κακή του μέρα.
>
> (vv. 2357-8)

For the interpretation of this obscure couplet the Commentary should be consulted, but the point to be made here is that the couplet greatly

1. Since they are superfluous to the understanding of the text, and to the modern reader—who relies on verse or chapter numbers for reference—more of a tiresome hindrance, especially when they interrupt and unnecessarily duplicate the narrative, they have been relegated to the *apparatus criticus* of the present edition and not incorporated in the general numbering-scheme.

2. See the relevant portions of the Commentary.

resembles in tone (and in unintelligibility) many of the other Γνωμικὰ under discussion. Moreover, it too does not derive from any known version of the Alexander Romance. This suggests that the Γνωμικὰ are the work of the same man who put the Romance into verse, the anonymous author of the *Rimada*. Their attribution to the editor, Zinos, would in any case be difficult, for their random insertion in the text, their jumbled language and trite moralising sentiments are at odds with our other notions of the rather scholarly and methodical Zinos [1].

The logical conclusion, then, about the origin of the «Γνωμικὰ» is this: in the course of writing the *Rimada*, the anonymous versifier hit upon the idea of inserting appropriate moralising comments at various points of the narrative. For this purpose he drew on existing proverbs, where necessary adapting them to the required metrical form; when no suitable proverb was known to him, he composed one of his own. (In this second group must be classed some of the less intelligible «Γνωμικά», such as vv. 42a-d and 54a-d.) There proverbs were then placed under the heading Γνωμικὸν and inserted in the text—an arrangement which was not disturbed by the editor of the printed edition. After writing about 400 verses in this way, the author decided to discontinue this plan, perhaps because he had run out of suitable proverbs, or perhaps because he had conceived the better idea of incorporating moralising comment in the poem itself when the occasion arose, as he in fact did at, for example, vv. 1347-52, 1375-80, 1385-6, 1885-8, 2355-8 and 2822.

In the present edition the «Γνωμικὰ» have been removed from the main body of the text, in spite of the fact that they are probably the work of the author of the *Rimada*, because they are not part of the Alexander Romance proper and because they are metrically distinct from the poem.

The Illustrations

The final element of the first edition of the *Rimada* which remains to be discussed is its illustration. The fourteen woodcuts purport to depict various scenes from the Alexander Romance. In fact, with one exception, they are clichés from a set of illustrations originally used for the first edition of Loukanis' *Iliad* (1526) [2]. They were apparently

1. For instance his *Batrachomyomachia* is entirely free of any ethico-didactic comment.

2. See *BH XV/XVI* I No. 75, pp. 188-92. The text is edited by Legrand in *Collection de monuments* No. 5 (1870).

planned and commissioned by Damiano for that purpose and executed by a certain Carnesecca [1]. Although they were specifically intended to illustrate the *Iliad*, they were later used as clichés in other books printed by the da Sabbio press and other later printers [2]. One such book is the Alexander poem which is the subject of this study. Thirteen of the clichés are employed to depict scenes from the Alexander Romance, though in many cases they are quite inappropriate [3] (see (*Plates IV-V*).

The 14th illustration (*Pl. Va*) derives from a different source: it depicts Alexander riding Bucephalus and comes from the 1521 edition of the *Alexandreida in Rima* [4]. It is thus the only one of the illustrations which was originally intended by its executor to refer to the story of Alexander. It seems likely that it was borrowed by the da Sabbio press for the purpose of the Alexander poem and, presumably, later returned to its owner Bernadino de Viano di Lissona [5], for in later editions of the *Rimada* it is replaced by another woodcut.

The selection and arrangement of the woodcuts for the *Rimada* was probaby the task of Damiano, as is suggested by Follieri [6].

To summarise, the people who may be assumed to have participated in the publication of the *Rimada*, apart from its anonymous author, are: Damiano di Santa Maria, the financial backer and instigator of the enterprise, who also probably had some hand in the editorial process, at least as far as the provision of illustrations was concerned; Dimitrios Zinos, who was responsible for preparing and editing the manuscript for the press and correcting proofs, and who may also have set up some of the type himself (for he is known to have been a compositor); and, finally, Giovanni Antonio da Sabbio, on whose press the *Rimada* was printed, but who probably had no editorial role in its production.

1. See Follieri, «Su alcuni libri greci», pp. 124-6. The information derives from the eighteenth century scholar Christoph August Heumann.

2. For a detailed account of their appearance in later editions see D. Holton, «A set of sixteenth century woodcuts in Greek popular texts», *Ell.* 25, 1972, 371-6.

3. See Holton, *Balkan Studies* 11, 1970, 200.

4. D'Essling, *op. cit.*, second part, I 244-5.

5. It appears again in the *Alexandreida* of 1535 which was printed by Giovanni Andrea de Vavassore; see D'Essling, *op. cit.*, Seconde Partie, I 244.

6. *Op. cit.*, p. 160.

5. LITERARY ASPECTS OF THE *RIMADA*

Style

Any discussion of the style of a popular versification such as the present work will inevitably revolve primarily around the question of how closely the adaptor adheres to his prose model. This problem has already been touched on in Chapter 3. Suffice it to say here that, although there can be no *direct* knowledge of the author's model, it may be deduced that he followed it rather closely, but with a certain amount of simplification of complex ideas. Although his ability to versify a prose text is clearly quite fluent, clarity of meaning is frequently sacrificed to metrical demands, e.g. vv. 51-2:

> Ἐγράψαν καὶ τὰ λόγια τους καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς ν' ἀκούση,
> τ' ἀφέντη τους τοῦ Κτεναβοῦ, ὀπίσω νὰ γυρίση.

Much juggling with word order has been resorted to in order to conform with the demands of the metre, with the result that the sense is barely intelligible[1]. Even then the versifier has not managed to produce a perfect rhyme.

In his desire to follow the fifteen-syllable metre as strictly as possible he employs a variety of expedients. The most noticeable of these is the frequent use of virtually meaningless adverbs — τὸ λοιπόν, τὸ λοιπονές, τότε(ς), ἐτότες, γὰρ etc.— to a quite nauseous degree. In the same way νά, γιὰ νὰ and even διὰ νὰ (three syllables) are interchangeable, depending solely on the number of syllables required.

These «tricks», which are typical of folk poetry of this kind, give the poem an oral flavour, although there is no question of oral composition or transmission in this case: it is merely that some of the techniques of the oral poet have survived in the style of the popular versifier. Oral technique may also be observed in the use of certain formulaic expressions which are common to many other early MG verse texts, particularly the verse romances[2]. Such are, for example, μικροί τε καὶ μεγάλοι (228 etc.), πηδᾶ, καβαλικεύει (1210), δὲν εἶχε τί νὰ ποίση (157 etc.), καὶ νὰ μηδὲν ἀργήση (158 etc.).

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1. For a possible emendation see the Commentary *ad loc.*
2. On such formulas and cliches see M. and E. Jeffreys, «Imberios and Margarona: the manuscripts, sources and edition of a Byzantine verse romance», *Byzantion* 41, 1971, 122-160, especially pp. 141ff.

Another means by which the versifier regulates his text to conform with metre, is the use of a great variety of forms of proper names: e.g. there are the nominatives Νεκτεναβός, Νακτεναβός, Ἐκτεναβός, Κτεναβός, accusatives Κτεναβό(ν) and Ἐκτεναβῶνα, genitives Κτεναβοῦ, Ἐκτεναβοῦ and Κτεναβῶνος; similarly Ὀλυμπιὰς is variously declined on the basis of nominitives Ὀλυμπιάς, Ὀλυμπιάδα, Λυμπιάδα, Ὀλυμπία and Ὀλυμπίας. It is easy to ascribe this multiplicity to the author's lack of education. In part it no doubt stems from that. But it is well to remember that a diversity of forms for proper names is a recurring feature of Greek poetry throughout its history. Even Homer and Kornaros availed themselves of or created forms which would fit different parts of their line of verse, so there is no reason why one should not grant this concession also to the much lowlier poet of the *Rimada*.

The versifier sometimes adds to his model a line which contributes little or nothing to the sense, but merely completes a couplet e.g. 70, 80 88, 102, 148 etc. More rarely he adds passages of greater length, but never more than a dozen lines[1]. In some cases it is not possible to tell whether it is a question of free creative writing by the poet or whether the prose model itself already had the passage. Many of these passages are in any case merely repetitions but they do include some lines which are among the few in the poem to have any sort of claim to poetic merit. Darius' lament is a good example:

> Εἰς τὸ παλάτι Δάρειος ἦλθε καὶ τοῦτο λέγει,
> τὸ ἔνδυμά του ἔριψε, φαρμακεμένα κλαίγει·
> καὶ ὁ νός του ὁ ταπεινὸς μέσα του ἐβρουχάτου,
> καὶ πρὸς τὴν τύχην πὄλαχε πολλὰ παραπονάτου·
> «Οὐαὶ σ' ἐμένα», ἔλεγε, «πλῆθος πολὺ ποὺ χάθη,
> ἐκ τὴν στρατεία π' ὅριζα, πὄλεγα πόσο νά 'λθη·
> καὶ βασιλέας ἄνθρωπος ἔρημος ν' ἀπομένω.
> Λοιπὸν ἡ τύχης εἰς αὐτὸ μ' εἶχε μεμετρημένο ...».
>
> (1229-1236)

Again, the poet expresses his personal indignation at the murder of Darius:

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1. For a complete list of elements which are not present in the Λ or β texts of the Romance, some of which are authentic features preserved by other Greek or non - Greek versions, while others must be attributed to the author either of the *Rimada* or of its prose model, see Appendix.

Σκοτώνουν τὸν ἀφέντη τους ἐκεῖν' οἱ ὀργισμένοι,
εἰπέτε μου, τί κέρδισαν οἱ 'ναθεματισμένοι;
Ἐδ' ἀνομιὰ τὴν ἔκαμαν, μεγάλη ἀσωτία,
νὰ σφάξουν τὸν αὐθέντη τους, δὲν εἶχαν ἁμαρτία;
Καὶ τὸ ψωμὶ ποὺ τὸ 'φαγαν ἐκεῖνο νὰ τοὺς πνίξη,
καὶ νὰ τοὺς ἔλθη στὸ κορμὶ πολὺ κακὸ καὶ τήξη.

(1347-1352)

In the speech of the dying Darius the poet takes the opportunity to expand his model and add a certain amount of gnomic material (1371-1386). Similarly the poet adds some trite observations on the death of Poros (1882-1888). Candace's speech on revealing that she knows Alexander's identity is also amplified with material of a gnomic character (2355-60). The introduction to Alexander's will has some general observations on death and other things inserted (2821-4). Perhaps the episode of the death of Bucephalus is also the poet's own invention (2915-2926).

All the passages (with the exception of the last) have in common the fact that they contribute nothing at all to the narrative, and most of them are of a gnomic or moralising character — comments on fate, death, sin, folly and the like. Thus they resemble that other category of added material which must be attributed to the poet: the γνωμικά. Their presence in the poem, like that of the other interpolations mentioned above, reflects the working of the popular mind, for which every dramatic or tragic happening has its appropriate comment.

To summarise: the style of the poem is in general flat and prosaic — a bare recital of events, only rarely alleviated by some comment of the poet. It is only in these comments that one can find anything to admire: the occasional felicitous, if well-worn, image («the cup of death», «death's poisoned dart»), a more personal tone, a moralistic observation. Though it might perhaps be wished that the poet had contributed more to the poem of his own creation, one can scarcely doubt that the result, had he done so, would have resembled the many other ethico-didactic verse writings of this and earlier periods.

Similarities between the Rimada *and other works*

From the examination of the relationship between the *Rimada* and its sources it is clear that the versifier has made very little contri-

bution of his own in the way of alterations or additions to the prose narrative on which he based his work. As a natural corollary to this there is very little in the *Rimada* which may be attributed to the influence of other works known to the author, with the exception of the formulaic expressions mentioned above which provided him with readymade half-lines.

The one work of which there do seem to be definite echoes in the *Rimada* is the poem of Georgios Choumnos on Genesis and Exodus, known as *Κοσμογέννησις*. The following similarities have been noted:
1) 551-2 καὶ τὰ ποτάμια τὰ ἀκοῦς ἦσανε κινημένα. | Λοιπὸν αὐτὰ ἐρχόντησαν, στὴ θάλασσα παγαῖνα - cf. Choumnos 14-15 τὰ νερὰ κινοῦσι. | Λοιπὸν αὐτὰ κινήσασιν ...
2) 453-4 καὶ τοῦτα εἶπε Φίλιππος κ' ἐδιέβη ἡ ζωή του | καὶ μετ' αὐτὴν ἐπλήρωσε κ' ἐβγῆκε ἡ ψυχή του, and 1393-4 Καὶ τοῦτα εἶπε Δάρειος κ' ἐδιάβη ἡ ζωή του, | καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα πλήρωσε κ' ἐβγῆκε ἡ ψυχή του - cf. Choumnos 269-270 Ἔτια λογῆς ἐφώναξεν κι ἐβγῆκεν ἡ ψυχή του, | καὶ μετ' αὐτὴν ἐπέρασεν ἡ ἔρημος ζωή του.
3) 549-550 Ἦλθε 'ς ποτάμι φοβερὸν 'ς ποὺ δώδεκα παγαίνει, | πάσα ποτάμι τὸ λοιπὸν χώρά 'τον γεναμένη - cf. Choumnos 340-1 Βλέπει ποτάμιν φοβερὸν κ' εἰς τέσσαρα μοιράζει, | πάσα ποτάμιν ξέχωρα τὸν δρόμον του ἀνακράζει.
4) 683 ν' ἀποκρατῆ ⟨ἡ⟩ πνοή σου - cf. Choumnos 816 ἀποκρατεῖ ⟨ἡ⟩ πνοή μου.
5) 891 Ὁ τόπος ἦταν ἄνυδρος - cf. Choumnos 1227 Ἦταν ὁ τόπος ἄνυδρος.
6) 2753 Τώρα οὖν ἂς γυρίσωμε εἰς τὴν ἐπιβουλία - cf. Choumnos 282 Τώρα λοιπὸ(ν) ἂς γυρίσωμεν εἰς τοῦ 'Αδὰμ τοῦ ξένου.

Taken together, these similarities compel the conclusion that Choumnos' work (written circa 1490) was known to the versifier of the *Rimada*. One other piece of evidence supports the hypothesis that Choumnos' poem was well-known and popular in Zakynthos: a manuscript of Choumnos' work was in the possession of Bishop Katramis of Zakynthos, but apparently suffered the same fate as the rest of his library which he ordered to be burnt after his death[1].

There are also certain similarities of phrasing between the *Rimada* and Zinos' translation of the *Batrachomyomachia*:
1) v. 312 ἀπάνου του καθίζει - cf. Batrach. 120 *verbatim*;
2) vv. 520, 580, 688 καὶ νὰ μηδὲν ἀργήσουν - cf. Batrach. 186 *verbatim*;
3) vv. 1278, 1452 δίχως κανέναν κόπον - cf. Batrach. 276 *verbatim*;

1. See M. I. Manousakas, «Ὁ ποιητὴς Γεώργιος Χοῦμνος, νοτάριος Χάνδακος», *ΕΕΒΣ* 21, 1951, 280.

4) vv. 1655-6 ... ἀνθρῶποι ἄλλοι, | λοιπὸν στὸ στῆθος εἴχανε αὐτεῖνοι τὸ κεφάλι - cf. Batrach. 450-1 'Οπίσω εἰς τὲς πλάτες τους εἴχασι τὸ κεφάλι. | Εἴχασι καὶ τὰ μάτια τους στὰ στήθη ποὺ θωροῦσαν.
5) v. 2049 Εἰς λίμνη καταντήσαμε - cf. Batrach. 15 κ' εἰς λίμνην ἐκατήντησε.

These may be explained on the hypothesis that Zinos recalled these phrases from the *Rimada* (in which he had been closely involved) when he came to compose his translation of the *Batrachomyomachia* a few years later (its probable date of publication is 1539), or simply as coincidence—for none of these phrases is patricularly out of the ordinary. Certainly their presence in the *Rimada* in no way affects the conclusions already expressed about its authorship.

Finally, a few isolated coincidences of phrasing with other works may be noted:
1) v. 235 Τὸ ἦθος τού 'τον θαυμαστὸν - cf. Achill. 98 τὸ κάλλος του ἦτον θαυμαστόν.
2) v. 334 κ' ἔλαμπε ὡς ἀστέρας - cf. Thes. II 9.4 πὄλαμπε ὡς ἀστέρας.
3) v. 383 σὰν νά 'μουνα ἐχθρός σου - cf. Thes. Prol. 143 *verbatim*.
4) v. 926 καὶ τὸ νερὸν τοῦ ποταμοῦ γένη σ' αὐτοὺς κιβούρι - cf. Λpokop. 360 καὶ τὸ νερὸν τ' ἀμέτρητον μᾶς ἔκαμεν κιβούριν.

6. LANGUAGE AND VERSIFICATION

In the absence of a comprehensive grammar of the medieval Greek language, it would be desirable for every fresh text that is published to be accompanied by a detailed linguistic analysis[1]. In this way the compilation of such a grammar would be facilitated. The analysis of the language of the *Rimada* which follows is neither exhaustive nor complete: in the main it takes note only of phonological, morphological and syntactical features which are peculiar to the present text, or at least not common to the more well-known medieval texts in the vernacular. Thus, many commonly attested characteristics of medieval Greek are not commented on[2].

A. PHONOLOGY

1. VOWELS

(a) *Vowel changes*:

(i) e ⟩ i when another vowel follows: Θιός[3], πλιό, πλιά, ὄρνια, βασιλιῶς (957), ὡριωμένα, Πτολεμιός etc. This change is generally accompanied by a shift of accent (if the e was accented) which implies a consonantal pronunciation of ι (synizesis) (Thumb § 9, MNE I 332ff.); but there are other examples in which -έα becomes -ία, i.e. the ι is pronounced as a separate vowel: μερία, βασιλίας (1411). In the first case the change may be attributed to the analogical influence of the very large category of feminine nouns in -ία. The contrary change, however, may be seen in μαλέα ⟨ μαλία.

(ii) o ⟩ u in an accented syllable: οὗλοι (owing to the liquid λ: MNE II 284, Thumb § 6 n. 5).

(iii) a and o ⟩ i in certain verbs with prepositional prefixes: ἀνιμένω

1. Cf. A. Mirambel, «Pour une grammaire historique du grec mediéval», *Actes du 12e Congrès International d'Études Byzantines*, Vol. II (1964), 396.

2. It is hoped that a more complete analysis of the language of the *Rimada* may appear separately or as part of a special study of the language of Heptanesian texts of this period.

3. In this chapter line-references are given generally only when this information cannot be obtained from the Glossary or Index of Proper Names.

ἀπιλογιάζω, ἀπιλογοῦμαι, παριδίνω. This change is due to the analogy of verbs prefixed with περι- or ἀντι- (Erot. Gloss. p. 496).

(iv) Also analogical is the change of νοῦς to νὸς (analogy of ἁπλοῦς > ἁπλός, χρυσοῦς > χρυσὸς etc., the form νὸς being found only in Kymi, according to MNE II 34f. and 441).

(v) Vowel changes due to assimilation: καταβοδωθῶ (< κατευοδώνω), τριπηδήσει (< τριποδίζω), τάραχον (< τάριχος), προυτοῦ (< προτοῦ) (MNE I 234).

(vi) Vowel change due to dissimilation: καβελάρη (MNE I 238, Einl. 333).

(b) *S y n c o p e*:

περπατῶ (34d 42, 1548 etc., but also περιπατῶ), νὰ ... ντροπιάστε (806), νὰ πιάστε (805), περσά, περσότερο(ν) (Einl. 347-8).

(c) *A p h a e r e s i s*:

This phenomenon is a very common one in the poem, partly owing to the unwillingness of either the author or the first editor to admit the normal elision when two vowels come together. Examples, apart from those current in MG, are: 'χμαλωτισμένη (E 27), 'κολουθούσαμε (1720), 'κοῦμε (1676), 'ποκρίθηκε (295), 'φήνω (2857), 'γγαρεμένοι, 'ρηνεύουν (2420), 'ρευνοῦσι (735) etc.; and in proper names: Λεξανδρινούς, Λεξάνδρεια, Λέξανδρος, Γύπτιοι, Θιόπων, Λυμπιάδα, Σίρεως (Einl. 74, 321ff.). Very similar is the phenomenon termed «ἀφαίρεση στὴ συμπροφορὰ» (Gramm. Dem. 77). Indeed, in view of the reason for the frequency of aphaeresis (see above), many examples could be classified in either category e.g. νὰ 'τοιμάζου (1051), νὰ 'δεύη (1690), νὰ 'ρίση (302 etc.), τὸ 'κρωτήρι (2024) etc.

Rather different are the cases where an accented vowel is lost from the beginning of a word, which then becomes a quasi-enclitic e.g. ὀνειρό 'δεν (101), τό 'δε (157), στὸν ὕπνον τού 'δ' (665), πού 'δαν (196), γράμματά 'γραψαν (597), τό 'δωσε (958), τά 'διωχναν (1644), ἀρσενικό 'ναι (131), τὸ ἦθος τού 'τον (235), ὁπού 'λθασιν (490), στὸν Φίλιππό 'ρθ' ὀρνίθι (207), 'Αλέξανδρό 'στειλε (423), νά 'μπη (212), σέ 'χε (285) etc. In another group the accent is moved to a syllable which cannot properly carry it i.e. the preceding word has a double accentuation, e.g. ὅλό 'τονε (2653), ἕνά 'μορφο (2315), πάντά 'ξω (2008), πέντέ 'δαν (951), πέντέ 'χαν (1646), δόντιά 'χαν (2083), κάψά 'καμε (2565), στόμά 'χαν (2616), χώρά 'τον (550), 'ς χώρά 'ρημ' (2042), τοῦτά 'γραψεν (1029), ταῦτά 'γραφε (2141), τόσό 'τον (243) (Xanthoudidis Erot. note on IV 627).

(d) *C r a s i s*:

The crasis of ou+e > o occurs fairly frequently in the poem, e.g.

μὄδωσε (2154), τὄδωσε (2428), ὁπὄδωσες (E44), ὁπὄναι (112 etc.), πὄν (680), πὄνι (2885), ὁπὄρχετον (286), ὁπὄρχονταν (1552), νὰ μὄρθη (2128), τὄρχεται (2358), ὁπὄκαμες (1466), τὄλεγε (524), σὄπεψε (2237), πὄσκότωσαν (1450), σὄστειλα (683), πὄστειλες (1046), ὁπὄστειλε (2552a), πὄσφαξε (2386), μὄσφαλες (828), ὁπὄτρωγαν (1999), πὄφύλαγε (2791) etc. The coronis (') has been employed in the present edition, contrary to the recommendation of Gramm. Dem. (p. 78). (See also: Thumb § 11 n. 2, Erot. note on I 165; and especially Ν.Π. 'Ανδριώτης, «Ἡ κράση τοῦ συμπλέγματος *ου + ε* σὲ *ο* στὴ Μεσαιωνικὴ καὶ Νέα Ἑλληνική», *Mélanges Octave et Melpo Merlier*, 1956, Vol. 1, pp. 1-11).

(e) *S y n a e r e s i s* (contraction):

βοθᾶ, βοθοῦ, ἐβόθησε, ἐλεμονήσου, λεμοσύνη, λὲ (1744), λὲν (2899), λέσι (2709), Νικόλας, τρῶσι(ν) (897, 1567), νὰ φᾶσι (1680), ἔφα (2072, = ἔφαγε), ἐλενὸς (= ἐλεεινός) MNE I 209.

(f) *V o c a l   P r o t h e s i s*:

ἀκαρτεροῦν etc., νὰ ... ἐβλάπτη, ἐβλέποντα (881, 1520), ἐβλέπομε (2424), ἐγκρεμνίζεις, ἐγνώθεις, ἐγνωρίζει, ἐγνώρισε (imp.) etc., ἐγρικοῦμε etc., ἐζητήσει (?), ἀπέζευσαν etc., ἀπερνάει etc., ἀσηκώθηκε etc., ἀσκόνταψε, ἀφώναξε, ἐχρήζει, ἐδικὸς etc., ἐτοῦτος etc., ὀγλήγορα, ἐτότε(ς) etc., (MNE I 321f., Thumb § 12b., Einl. p. 325ff).

(g) *E x t e n s i o n*:

-ε is added to the end of a word e.g. ἀκαρτέρουνε (1st sing.), τάφονε (548), αὔτονε (1004), ἐκείνηνε (2848), τόνε (152, 258 etc.), τήνε (1021), and very frequently in the third person plural of verbs e.g. κάμνουνε (1866), λαλοῦνε (1673), ἐδείξανε (2098), ἐκρυφθήκανε etc. (Einl. 71, 110).

2. CONSONANTS

(a) *L o s s   o f   c o n s o n a n t a l   ι*:

After certain consonants, consonantal ι may disappear: after σ (ξ) - σέται, πεντακόσους (1599, 1690), περίσσα (fem., 1), Περσᾶς, πλούσους, τετρακόσοι (1565), ἐξουσά, φορεσά, ἀξωμένον, μοναξά; after ρ - ἀντρωμένος, τρακόσοι, κονδαρές, στερᾶς; after δ - ἔδωξα (< ἔδιωξα); after θ - ἀνδραγαθές; after λ - λοντάρι; after ν - κοπανές; and after π - νὰ ποίση, ἐποῖσαν (661) (the forms νὰ πῆ [= νὰ πιῆ], ὅποι [670] and ποὶ [804, 871, 1678] are also found but this has been treated as simply a spelling convention and the normal forms have been restored in the edition). (Einl. 337-8, Thumb § 10 n.4).

(b) *The combination of two spirants or two tenues*
This may be preserved, or modified after the normal phonetic laws of MG. For example, φθ is preserved in ἐκρυφθήκανε, τρίφθησαν, ἔφθασε, νὰ φθειαστοῦν, φθέρνεται etc., but modified in ἔφτασε, ἀναπαύτη, φτήνεια etc., but modified in ἔφτασε, ἀναπαύτη, φτήνεια etc., and improperly restored in φθύνω and σκάφθουν. Other examples of falsely reconstituted consonant groups are in θαπτῆ and ἐμαζώκτησαν. (Einl. 161-2, Thumb §§ 14, 18-19).

(c) *νδ | ντ:*
The combination νδ should, and sometimes does, become ντ in accordance with MG phonology (i.e. its sound value is unchanged) e.g. ἀντρωμένος, Λεξάντρου; but often the historical orthography is preserved e.g. ἄνδρας, ἔνδυμα (1230), πανδρεύτη, δένδρον; the form κονδάρι is a false archaism (perhaps helped by the analogy of κονδύλι). On such false archaisms see Kriaras' note on Katsaïtis, Thy. V 208.

(d) *Loss of a nasal before a spirant:*
συβουλεύω, συφέρνω, Μέφη, Παφυλία, νύφη, ἐθυμοῦμαι, συχώρησιν (Einl. 356 fn., Thumb § 33).

(e) *Loss of final ν:*
This occurs not only in neuter nouns and in the acc. sing. of other nouns (never in the gen. pl.), but also in ἄ (< ἄν) and very frequently in the 3rd person pl. of verbs e.g. ὁμονοιάζου, χάνου (876), νὰ φέρου (914), ἀφῆκα (1288), ἐβγαῖνα (1594), μετρῆσα (2), νὰ πάψου (34), διψοῦσα (893) etc.; also from the nom. sing. of λέων which appears as λέω. But in a very large number of instances final ν is retained (Thumb § 34).

(f) *Loss of intervocalic γ:*
λέω (2920), ἐσφάη (1453), σαΐτας (Thumb § 22).

(g) «*Irrational*» *γ between vowels:*
ἐρωτάγει (2452), καίγετον, ἐκαῖγαν, κλαίγει, μνέγω, πολεμάγει (2336); and after β; βγοδωμένοι, βγοδώνει; and initially, to avoid hiatus: γοἱ ὀργισμένοι (2750), γῆ 'Ολυμπιάδα (103) (Einl. 119ff., Thumb § 23). γ also develops before ν in γνέφη and τυραγνήσω (Thumb § 23).

(h) «*Intrusive*» *ν:*
κένδρος < κέδρος (on the analogy of δένδρο), κορκόνδειλους.

(i) *σσ and ττ:*
Attic ττ is employed as a mark of «erudition» in κρεῖττον and κηρύττεις. But otherwise Koine σσ is used e.g. ἀλλάσσει, ταράσσεις, τάσσεις, τάσσομε, φυλάσσει, φυλάσσουν, περισσά, τέσσαρα, βασίλισσα (55, 2165 etc.), θάλασσα etc. Verb stems are, however, often remodelled e.g. φυλάγω, ἀλλάζω.

(j) *Metathesis of ρ:*
πρικαμένο, πρίκα, πρικιά, κορκόνδειλους, σερνικὸ (Thumb § 31 n.1).

3. ACCENTUATION

Peculiarities of accentuation may be observed in certain nouns, for which various explanations may be offered. In some cases the unusually accented forms are attested elsewhere and so must be accepted as genuine current linguistic features; such are ἀδεία, κεφάλη (see Gloss.). In other examples the accentuation of the dative seems to have been transferred to the nom. or acc. In such cases one must suspect «barbarisms», i.e. non-current invented forms, resulting from the restricted education of the poet. Such are: δυνάμη, μαρτυρίο, ὀνεῖρο, 'Αντιοχεία, 'Αλεξανδρεία (and -ειά). The incorrect accentuation of εὔνουχος, θεράπειαν and μάντειο should probably be attributed either to ignorance or to a deliberate bending of the canons of accentuation for metrical purposes, but that of ἱστόρια is certainly due to the influence of Italian *storia*. Similarly, Σαρακῆνον is perhaps influenced by Italian *Saraceno*, Δάρειος by *Dario*, Κασσάνδρος by *Cassandro*, and ἀοράτος by the class of Latin loanwords in -άτος.

B. MORPHOLOGY

1. THE ARTICLES

The feminine plural of the definite article has nom. οἱ and acc. generally τὲς, but also τὰς (545, 668 etc.) and τὶς (2456, 2537). The indefinite article has a masculine nom. εἷς (332, 571 etc.) and neut. ἓν (675), besides the usual MG ἕνας, ἕνα.

2. NOUNS

(a) *Masculine:*
γέροντας forms a gen. γερόντου after the declension of masculines in -ος (Thumb § 66). Certain nouns which were formerly of the Third Declension retain their gen. sing. in -ος: ἀνδρός, Δράκοντος, μηνός, πατρὸς (Thumb § 67, Gramm. Dem. § 528); ἀφέντης also has a newly-formed gen. of this

type—ἀφεντὸς—besides the normal ἀφέντη (MNE II 87, Einl. 376). Another class of masculines, mostly in -άρης or -ορας, exhibits a shift to «Second Declension» endings (in which those in -άρης in fact have their origin) in certain persons e.g. nom. sing. 'ποκρισάριος (normally ἀποκρισάρης), acc. pl. ἀποκρισάρους and ἀποκρισαριούς, and, as often in MG, nom. pl. ἀποκρισάροι, βιγλατόροι (also βιγλάτορες), καβαλάροι, καβοῦροι (⟨κάβουρας) and ἐπικέρνοι (⟨ ἐπικέρνης) (Thumb §§ 66, 69).

(b) *Feminine*:

Feminine nouns in -α and -η present fewer irregularities than their masculine counterparts. Some nominatives add -ς: γῆς, τύχης, Κανδάκης (MNE I 523, 654, Georgacas, *Glotta* 31, 220). The gen. of -α nouns is sometimes in -ης e.g. βασιλίσσης (2148a) and even βασίλισσης (2202), but also in -ας e.g. θάλασσας (2912 - for the irregular θαλάσσου see Glossary). Of feminine nouns in -ος a few examples survive from AG: ἔξοδον (? may be masc. or neut.), ἔρημον (1542), νῆσον (501), νήσου (519), and the proper nouns Αἴγυπτον, Αἰγύπτου, Ρόδου, Ζάκυνθο, but ἡ Τύρο (see Einl. 25, Thumb § 87). On the analogy of compounds like ἔξοδος, εἴσοδος etc. is formed the feminine noun ἔμποδος from ἐμποδών. ἔξοδος takes a feminine ending for its acc. pl. ἔξοδες, where ἔξοδους would presumably be felt to be too strange.

(c) *Neuter*:

Several stages of development are present in the poem for neuter nouns which were originally diminutives with the termination -ιον:

1) -ιον is retained complete in ποτήριον (1373), συμβούλιον, φαρμάκιον (2706), and in the paroxytones βιβλίον (E32) and θηρίον (which preserve their -ο in common MG too).

2) Final -ν only is lost in παίγνιο as in MG.

3) -ιον ⟩ -ιν in βουλωτήριν, νησίν (1672), νησάκιν, σπαθίν (432), ψάριν (1629).

4) Finally, the completed stage of the process is by far the most common one: ἀλεύρι (582), ἀμάξι, αὐτί (1176), βυζί (1969), γιοφύρι etc.

In addition it should be noted that this category of neuter nouns includes some which were of the third decl. in AG e.g. δάσο, gen. δάσου, θάρρο and θράσο. The 3rd decl. neut. is, however, still very much in evidence (Einl. 367-9).

(d) *Third Declension*:

The third decl. survives not in its entirety as a comprehensive system for declining certain types of noun, but rather in certain isolated forms which have become familiar in their fossilised state through frequent formal or ecclesiastical use. Such are certain cases of nouns like βασιλεύς, ἱερεύς; and nouns like αὐτοκράτωρ, κοσμοκράτωρ, ἀστήρ, πατήρ, θυγάτηρ, παῖδες, χεῖρας. The genitives πατρός, γυναικός, μητρὸς and νυκτὸς must be considered as genuine dialectal survivals. However, the fact that the third decl. as a whole has broken down is demonstrated by such misuses as πατήρ (acc.), μητρί (voc. and acc.), and γυνή (acc.). The fate of masculine nouns like βασιλεὺς calls for further examination. The following endings are found in the poem:

	Sing.	Pl.
Nom.	-εύς, -έας, -ίας	-εῖς
Voc.	-εῦ, -ιὰ	
Acc.	-έα(ν), -ιά, -ὴ	-εῖς, -ιοὺς
Gen.	-έως, -ιῶς, -ιὰ	-έων, -ιῶν
Dat.	-εῖ	

On the one hand there is normal phonological development e.g. βασιλέως ⟩ βασιλιῶς (synizesis), and on the other there is reformation on the analogy of similar forms (acc. pl. γονιοὺς from the gen. γονιῶν on the analogy of e.g. νιούς, νιῶν), and there is attraction to another declension e.g. nom. βασιλέας on the basis of acc. βασιλέα(ν).

Another third decl. type which survives partially is that of feminine nous in -ις, which are sometimes reformed as first decl. (e.g. γνώση (20α)) and sometimes retain their AG forms. There occur in the poem the nominatives δύναμις, κτίσις and ὑπόθεσις, and gen. γεννήσεως (in a chapter heading). Accusatives have been considered as third decl. and so written when they end in -ν e.g. ἀντίμεψιν, γνῶσιν, μεταμόρφωσιν etc., but as first decl. when there is no -ν e.g. γνώση, δύναμη, φρόνεση etc. This compromise has been adopted as much for aesthetic as philological reasons, spellings such as γνώσην and γνῶσι being considered undesirable.

The type of neuter nouns in -ος, has actually gained ground by attracting to itself certain 2nd declension neuters in the plural: δένδρη (as well as δένδρα) and κάστρη.

(e) *Archaic Dative Cases*:

A certain number of datives occurs in the poem, often at the beginning of letters to indicate the person addressed, but with other archaic functions too (see below C. 3 (j)): τῷ γένει (243), θεῷ 'Αμμῶνι (531), τοῖς ἑτέροις (1147), Πώρῳ βασιλεῖ (1303), Πώρῳ πεφιλημένῳ (1305), ὀνόματι (1333), 'Αριστοτέλει τῷ ἐμῷ τιμίῳ διδασκάλῳ (1511), τῇ διανοίᾳ (1795), τιμίῳ Ριστοτέλει (1993), ὥρᾳ τρίτῃ (2055), Λεξάνδρῳ τιμημένῳ (2165), στοῖς ποσὶ (2925), ἔτει (E 55), δεξιότητι (E 58).

(f) *Noun suffixes*:
A particularly frequent suffix of abstract nouns is -οσύνη e.g. ἀδελφοσύνη, δικ(α)ιοσύνη, δουλοσύνη, καθαροσύνη, (ἐ)μπιστοσύνη, ὀμορφοσύνη, etc. (For its frequent use by Georgillas, see MNE I 552-3).

3. ADJECTIVES

(a) *Adjectives in -ος*:
Some noteworthy forms are: καθαρὰ (fem.), the fem. comparative καλλιωτέρα, but in accordance with MG rules πλεώτερη (1944), ὄμορφην (474), ὑψηλότατην (in which the combination of AG phonology and morphology with MG accentuation is remarkable), βαρβάροι (1794), ἀοράτος (fem).

(b) *Third Declension adjectives*:
The following forms are noteworthy: fem. acc. sing. ἀσεβὴν (as if from * ἀσεβής, cf. Kapsomenakis, *Voruntersuchungen zu einer Grammatik der Papyri der nachchristlichen Zeit*, 1938, pp. 56, 126); masc. nom. sing. σώφρονας (‹σώφρων). πάσα is used as an indeclinable adjective, as well as the declinable AG πᾶς and ἅπας (see below 5(g)).

4. ADVERBS

Some interesting adverbs which occur in the *Rimada* are:

(a) *temporal*: ἐν τῷ ἅμα, τὸ ἅμα, ἀπέκει, ἀποταχύ, ἀποταχιά, γιαμιά, δά, ἐψές, πάλε, πάραυτα, παραυτίκα, πισαυρίου, ταχυτέρου, (ἐξ) ὑστέρου.

(b) *manner*: ἐδέτις, εἴμητα, κολύμπου, μόν, μόνε, ὁμάδι, ὁμοῦ, οὕτως, ποσῶς, στανιό, ταδέ, τεδέ.

(c) *place*: ἀλλοῦθεν, ἀπόκειθεν, γύρου γύρου, ἐδεκεῖ, ἐδεπᾶ, ἐδῶθεν, (ἐ)κεῖθε(ν), ὀμπροστά, παρακάτου, παράνου, ὧδε.

(d) *degree*: ἀπόλιγον, δαμάκι, μάλλιο, περσότερο(ν), πλεώτερο, πολλά.

5. PRONOUNS

(a) *Personal pronouns*:
The genitive of the first and second persons singular is often combined with a verb by means of crasis, e.g. μὄχει, σὄλεγε, σὄστειλα etc.
Third person sing. and pl.: the third person pronoun has a variety of forms. Besides the usual αὐτός, in all cases, genders and numbers, the form αὐτεῖνος (on the analogy of ἐκεῖνος) is especially frequent. There is also a masc. acc. pl. αὐτεινούς (2182) with oxytone accentuation, and two instances of εὐτεῖνος (εὐτεῖνα 1720 and εὐτεῖνος 1178) which may be compared with the modern Heptanesian forms εὐτὸς (Thumb § 136) and εὐτοῦνος (Konomos Lex.). Another extended form is αὐτόνον (1112). Forms of αὗτος are also found, but only in the acc. after the prepositions εἰς, ἐξ, μετά, γιατὰ and σὰν e.g. ἐξ αὕτους, μ' αὕτην, μετ' αὗτον, γιατ' αὗτο, εἰς αὗτο etc. From the last-mentioned form combined with ἴδε is derived the pronoun δαῦτος, which still occurs in the Ionian Isles (see Konomos Lex.) and elsewhere. It is found only twice: 110 μὲ δαῦτον and 1668 μὲ δαῦτο. The weak forms of the third person pronouns—τόν, τήν, τὸ etc. and their unaccented equivalents—require little comment: extended forms τόνε, τήνε, τονε are common; the fem. acc. pl. is always τὲς / τες. (See also under possessive pronouns below, and for the position of the pronouns in relation to verbs, see section C. 4).

(b) *Periphrastic personal pronouns*: ἡ αὐθεντιά σου or ἡ ἀφεντιά σου (= «your lordship») is used as a polite periphrasis for the second person, sing. personal pronoun. Perhaps the third person form ἡ ἀφεντιά του (922) may also be described as a periphrastic pronoun.

(c) *Possessive pronouns*: αὐτοῦ is used occasionally for του, especially in the more formal chapter headings. τως occurs once for the usual τους (1618). Certain archaic forms are also found: οἱ ἐμοὶ (1140), τὸν ἐμὸν (993), τῷ ἐμῷ (1511), ἡ σὴ (1842).

(d) *Emphasizing pronouns*: («muself» etc.) ἀτός μου, ἀτός σου etc. or ἀπατός του (671).

(e) *Demonstrative pronouns*:

(i) For forms of αὐτὸς and αὐτεῖνος see above (a).

(ii) In addition to the regularly declined forms of τοῦτος and ἐτοῦτος are found certain archaising forms: ταύτην (E 44), ταῦτα (1345 etc.), and an extended genitive: τουτουνοῦ (2368).

(iii) ἐκεῖνος and κεῖνος. Forms with different accentuation: gen. pl. ἐκεινῶν (898), masc. acc. pl. ἐκεινούς (1594), masc. gen. sing. ἐκεινοῦ (2407). Extended form: ἐκείνηνε (2848).

(f) *Relative pronouns*:

Several different forms are in use:

(i) πού or ὁπού. These words often undergo crasis when followed by a verb e.g. ὁπὄρχετον, πὄναι, πὄσφαξε, ὁπὄκαμες etc. Note also 'ς πού (549).

(ii) ὁ ὁποῖος. In one case it is found without the article - ὁποῖο (746), and once with synizesis and aphaeresis - τὰ ποιὰ (1057).

(iii) From the AG relative ὃς is found the fem. acc. sing. ἣν in several formal chapter headings, e.g. 786a, 798a etc.

(iv) The definite article is used as a relative pronoun in a number of instances e.g. ἐκεῖνο τὸ μπορεῖτε (482), τὰ ποτάμια τὰ ἀκοῦς (551), τὴ φιλιὰ τὴν εἶχαν οἱ γονεῖς μας (1313), τὸ κερὶ ἔκανε λαλιὰ στὰ θέλει νὰ 'ρδινιάζῃ (16) etc.

(v) Indefinite relatives are the dialectal ὄγοιος and the common medieval εἴτις, neuter εἴτι.

(g) *Indefinite pronouns*:

(i) κανεὶς / κανένας / κανενεὶς - all other forms are regular according to the MG paradigm κανένας, καμία (καμιά), κανένα.

(ii) τινὰς acc. τινὰν is used as an indefinite pronoun, derived from the AG enclitic τις.

(iii) Besides the usual τίποτα are found τίποτες (the most frequent form) and τίβοτες.

(iv) κάθε / κάθα is indeclinable: κάθ' ἡμέρα (1020), κάθα εἷς, κάθε ἕνα; combined with ἕνας it usually forms one word, καθένας, as in MG; N.B. masc. acc. καθέν (2529).

(v) As alternatives to κάθε and καθένας are found πάσα and πασαένας; πάσα is indeclinable and used like κάθε adjectivally with singular and plural nouns e.g. πάσα βράδυ, πάσα στρατιώτην, πάσα χρόνους... ἑπτά. As pronouns are also found the forms πασαεὶς and (very frequently) πασάνας.

(vi) The AG πᾶς, πᾶσα, πᾶν and ἅπας, ἅπασα, ἅπαν are preserved in the following forms: nom. pl. masc. οἱ ἅπαντες and (οἱ) πάντες, acc. πάντας, fem. acc. sing. πᾶσαν gen. πάσης, neut. sing. πᾶν.

(vii) ὅλος has a gen. pl. ὀλῶν or ὀλωνῶν. The dialectal οὖλος occurs once (perhaps for the sake of rhyme) - οὗλοι (196).

(viii) ἄλλος has a gen. sing. ἀλλοῦ and gen. pl. ἀλλωνῶν (besides ἄλλων).

(ix) ἕτερος has the same meaning as ἄλλος (which has completely ousted it in MG) and occurs in the following instances: τοῖς ἑτέροις (1147), ἑτέρους (2463), ἕτερους (2937).

6. NUMERALS

The following forms of the cardinal numbers must be mentioned as presenting either morphological or phonetic peculiarities:

(a) εἷς / ἕνας neut. ἓν / ἕνα.

(b) τρεῖς has a masc. acc. τρίους (2943).

(c) τέσσαρα (note the middle vowel) has a fem. τέσσαρες and a masc. acc. τέσσαρους (cf. δεκατέσσαροι).

(d) The «tens» from thirty upwards have their MG forms τριάντα, σαράντα etc. with the exception of ὀγδοήκοντα (2559).

(e) Note the form ἑπταχίλιους for AG ἑπτακισχιλίους, MG ἑφτὰ χιλιάδες.

(f) The neuter of the ordinal numbers is used adverbially in certain cases: πρῶτον, δεύτερον, τρίτο (Blass-Debrunner § 248(4)).

7. VERBS

General:

-σι(ν) endings of the third person plural, alongside the usual MG -ν, are found in the present, imperfect and aorist (indicative and subjunctive) active, e.g. φέρνουσι (1089), ἀπαντοῦσι (674), ζούσασι (1658), εἴπασι (41b) etc. The -ν of the normal type of third person plural may sometimes be lost and sometimes strengthened by the addition of -ε: e.g. βοθοῦ (466,) ἐψένα (1635), ἐβγῆκα (2373), γεννοῦνε (2490), βαστούσανε (676), βγήκανε (1680). In the first case the accent of the impf. and aor. third person plural always falls on the penultimate, as it often does on types which retain the -ν, e.g. ἐβάλαν (2249). This change is partly a functional one, for it distinguishes the first person sing. from the third person pl. when final -ν has been lost from the latter. This accent fall also occurs in the third person pl. of the aor. passive e.g. ἀναπαυτῆκαν (2054), ἐβουλευτῆκαν (2718), εὑρεθῆκα (1633) etc. A fall of accent in other persons of the verb is much rarer and may be suspected as a metrical licence e.g. first sing. ἐτάξα (2117), second sing. ἐφοβηθῆκες (964), third sing. ἐδῶσε (725), ἐπιάσε (885, 1079), ἐχάσε (458). (The last two, however, are certainly genuine popular forms, being the results of synizesis (⟨ ἐπίασε) and contraction (⟨ ἐχάωσε) respectively).

(a) *Barytone verbs*:

(i) *Aorist active* (aorists of perispomenon verbs may also conveniently be discussed here and in (iv) below): second person sing. is always in -ες, never in the older -ας. e.g. ἔκτισες (2440). The ending of the second person pl. varies between -ατε and -ετε e.g. ἠκούσατε (2461), ἐγρικήσετε (2413). In the subjunctive it may be syncopated: νὰ πιάστε (805), νὰ ντροπιάστε (806). There is a single instance of the classical strong aorist: third person pl. ἔδραμον (1591). In addition to the verbs which still have aor. in -κα, such as μπαίνω, the following -κα aorists are found: ἄφηκες (790), ἄφηκε (2684 etc.), ἀφήκασι (5, 2420), ἔδωκε (433 etc.), ἐδώκασι (632), ἐποῖκες (963), ἐποῖκα (1287), ποῖκαν (2755). These forms may also

have their own corresponding subjunctives: ν' ἀφήκη (2268), νὰ δώκη (424).

(ii) *Present passive:* The first person pl. has a wide variety of terminations e.g. ἀντιμαχόμεσθα (2494), δυνόμασθεν (1460), ηὑρισκόμαστεν (721), βρισκόμεστεν (1921), θαυμάζομέστε (789 - the double accentuation is of popular origin, cf. Thumb § 38), πειθόμεθα (2550). The second person pl. terminates in -εσθε or -εστε(ν) e.g. ὀρέγεσθε (651), λογίζεστεν (2522). Third person pl. has both -ονται and -ουνται e.g. γδύνονται (2045), ἔρχουνται (28 etc.).

(iii) *Imperfect passive:* For the first person sing. only one example is found - the peculiar ἔρχουνμου (647); third person sing.: ἀναγκάζετον (1081), ἐγίνετο (150), ἐργαζέτονε (13), καθέτον (192); third person pl.: ἐγίνονταν (2563), δουλώνοντα (650), ἐγρωριζόντανε (871) ἐρχόντησαν (552).

(iv) *Aorist passive*: Two types exist side by side - the old in -(θ)η(ν) etc. and the new in -κα: (1) first sing. ἀπιλογήθη (61 etc.), θεραπάη (136); second sing. θανατώθης (1378), ἐπιάστης (2352); third sing. ἀγκαλιάσθη (437), ἐδέχθη (989), ἀναπαύτη (980) etc. (Thus, for this type there is no distinction between first and third persons sing. other than that supplied by the context.); first pl. ἀναπαύτημαν (2605), δεήθημαν (623), ἐκατέβημεν (1569); third pl. ἀπιλογήθησαν (47), ἐμαζώχθησαν (489) etc.; (2) first sing. δεήθηκα (E16), θυμώθηκα (1731); second sing. ἐφοβηθῆκες (964 - with fall of accent); third sing. γεννήθηκε (2567) etc.; third pl. ἀναπαυτῆκαν (2054), ἐγδύθηκαν (1679), ἐχωριστῆκαν (329) etc.

With this category may be grouped the active aorists of -βαίνω verbs, which also exhibit both old and new terminations e.g. σέβηκε (102), σέβηκες (2352) and ἐσέβην (third sing., 190), ἐξέβη (2046) and ξέβηκα (2555), ἐδιάβη (57 etc.) and διάβηκε (890) etc.

(b) *Perispomenon verbs*:

(i) *General observations*: The division into two groups, according to the predominating vowel a or i, is generally maintained. Some verbs follow either conjugation e.g. πολεμεῖτε (1893) and νὰ πολεμᾶτε (651), παραπονεῖται (1275) and παραπονᾶται (2385), φοβᾶσαι (1132) and (subjunctive) φοβῆσαι (1102). The «resolved» form -άω never occurs in the first person sing., and the first person pl. is in -οῦμε for both conjugations; similarly the first person sing. passive is always in -οῦμαι. Passive forms of the -ιέμαι type occur only in the third person sing. present. Some examples of noteworthy forms found in the *Rimada* are given below.

(ii) *Present active*: third person sing., with «intrusive» γ, πολεμάγει (2336); puristic δηλοῖ (585, 2674).

(iii) *Imperfect active*: first sing. ἀγάπουν (1416 etc.), ἀκαρτέρουνε (2132), ἐθάρρουν (800); second sing. ἐπόνειες (1023); third sing. ἐκυβέρνα (2864), ἐβόλει (2030), ἠμπόρειε (244), etc.; first pl. περπατούσαμε (1698 etc.), ἐθωροῦμαν (1698); third pl. ἀγαποῦσαν (1802), βαστούσανε (676), διψοῦσα (893), ζούσασι (1658).

(iv) *Present passive*: second sing. ἀπιλογᾶσαι (1135), φοβᾶσαι (1132); third sing. ν' ἀπαντιέται (1070), βρουχιέται (1984) but also βρουχᾶται (2919).

(v) *Imperfect passive*: third sing. ἐφοβᾶτο (1082), θυμᾶτον (848), ἐβρουχάτου (1231), παραπονάτου (1232); third pl. ἐφοβούντανε (925).

(c) «*Semi-contracted*» *verbs*:

As in MG, certain present indicative and subjunctive and aorist subjuntive forms exhibit a blending of the stem vowel with the termination (often after the loss of intervocalic γ). The following forms not found in MG occur in the *Rimada* (in addition to the uncontracted forms):

θέλω: θέ is found for all persons (except second pl.), not only as a shortening of θέλω, but also as a very common means of forming the future tense.

λέγω: third sing. λέ (1744), third pl. λέσι (2709) and λέν (2899).

πάω: first sing. νὰ πά (984, 2109), second sing. ὑπᾶς (1952), third sing. πά (353, 2107), ὑπά (387, 1966 etc.), first pl. ὑπᾶμε (1640), νὰ πά (1745, 2245), third pl. ὑπάνε (583 etc.), ὑπᾶν (1240, 2208), ὑπᾶσιν (1457), πᾶσι(ν) (476 etc.), πᾶν (587 etc.).

τρώγω: third pl. τρῶσι(ν) (897, 1567), aor. indic. third sing. ἔφα (2072).

(d) *The Infinitives*:

Present active: πομένει (1048), γράφει (2654), κλαίγει (704), πολεμάει (1454); only once with -ν: τὸ σφάλλειν (E22);

Aorist active: ἀκούσει (599, 641), (ἰ)δεῖ (87, 90), βοηθήσει (81), ἀπεθάνει (222) etc. (much more common than the present infinitive);

Aorist passive: ἀκουστῆ (749), δυνηθῆ (558), θαπτῆ (2449), φανῆ (304);

«*To be*»: εἶσται (588).

(e) *The Participles*:

The termination of the present participle active is -οντας or -οντα (-ώντας or -ώντα for perispomenon verbs) e.g. ἀκούοντας (1033), γυρίζοντας (399), γρικώντας (29, 513 etc.), ἐβλέποντα (881, 1520), γρικώντα (923, 1515). Participles in -ούμενος: λυπούμενος (2717), μαχούμενα (2185), στεκούμενος (1376). Participle in -όμενος; πεeither ραζόμενες (207 etc.). Participles in -άμενος: γεναμένη (550 etc.), μελλάμενο (1241), χαιράμενος (2236). Archaic participles: ἰδών (1333), τοῦ γράψαντος (2679), μυρίσαντες (2927). φευγόντων (943), διωκόντων (944).

(f) *The Imperative*:
Irregular aor. imperatives: ἀνάστα (1361), ἄφες (23, 1978), ἔδε (1349) but also δές (68, 255), εἰπέ (62, 1844), εἰπές (578 etc.), but also πές (2392), pl. ἀφῆτε (708 etc.), εἰδέτε (E26, E51), δότε (653), εἰπέτε (411 etc.), πέτε (2409);
Archaic aor. imperative: φύλαξον (E47).

(g) *The Future, Perfect and Pluperfect* are formed periphrastically in MG, i.e. they are syntactical rather than morphological phenomena. They will therefore be found discussed in Section C. 5 below.

(h) *The Optative*:
Only one example is found - the fossilised χαίροις (305).

(i) *The verb «to be»*:
In addition to the normal MG conjugation the following forms occur in the *Rimada*:
Present: third sing. ἔν (265, 285 etc.), ἔνι (only in crasis, πὄνι 2085), ἔναι (85, 88 etc. - the commonest form), first pl. εἴμασθεν (2507), εἴμεσθεν (2619); third pl. εἶν (587 etc.), 'νιαι (only with aphaeresis, 494 etc.), εἰσί (1572).
Imperfect: third sing. ἦτον (1, 8 etc.), ἤτονε (144 etc.), ἦτο (only with aphaeresis, 'το 1488); third pl. ἦσα(ν) (335, 2579 etc.), ἤσανε (551 etc.), εἶνιαι, see ἤσασι (835).
Infinitive: εἶσται (588).
(See Kapsomenos, «Συμβολὴ στὴν ἱστορία τοῦ ρήματος εἰμί», *Προσφορὰ εἰς Στ. Π. Κυριακίδην, Ell.* Suppl. 4), 1957, 305-325. On the rare form *ibid.* 322 fn. and Pangalos I 356).

(j) *The Augment*:
The syllabic augment is usual[1], but is sometimes omitted when unaccented. The syllabic augment in words beginning with a vowel is very rare: ἐπόκτισεν (604), ἔρισε (1502); forms such as ἐπῆγα do not really fit into this category because the forms without ὑ- are as common as those with. The temporal augment is not common, occurring only in ἦξευρε (9), ἠκούστηκε (54), ἤκουε (56) etc. On the other hand there are instances of syllabic augment where common MG has the temporal augment: ἔπιες (1164), ἔπιαν (893) etc.
In verbs compounded with prepositions the usage varies: sometimes the augment follows the preposition, as in AG e.g. ἀνεθυμήθη (315), διέβηκε

1. A thorough survey has revealed that the syllabic augment is present in more than 50 per cent of historic tense verbs. Accordingly it has been editorially restored in cases such as καὶ κτύπα, τότε φύγαν etc.

2219), κατεφίλησε (2200), etc.; sometimes the augment is placed at the beginning of the verb e.g. ἐδιάβη (57), ἐκαταντήσαμε (1663), ἐπροεῖδα (1055) etc.; sometimes there are augments in both possible positions, initial and internal, e.g. ἐδιέβη (2732), ἐκατέβηκε (133 etc.), ἐσυνέβη (258a). There is a lengthened syllabic augment in ἠβλέπασι (250) etc. and ἤφεραν (2256) etc.

(k) *Reduplication*:
All instances of reduplication in the *Rimada* are borrowings from the purist language, employed either because they sound more literary or simply *metri gratia.*
Participles: γεγραμμένα (620, 629 etc.), ἐκλελεγμένους (2726), κεκλεισμένοι (1297), μεμετρημένο (1236), πεφιλημένῳ (E10) etc.
Pluperfect: ἐκέκτητο (E25).
There is also a strange reduplicated aorist: ἐτετυπώθη (E53)—unless this is a misprint for ἐξετυπώθη. (Cf. Blass-Debrunner §§ 68, 75).

8. PREPOSITIONS

The following prepositions occurring in the poem are noteworthy: ἀπέ, γιατά, διατά, εἰσέ, ἐκ, ἐξ, ὀκ, ὀξ, περί, ἐπί; compound prepositions: ἀντάμα μέ, ἀντάμα σέ, ἀντίδικα (σέ), ἀπάνω ἐκ, ἀνάντια σέ, μέσα ἐκ, ὁμοῦ μέ, χώρια. On the syntactical usages of these prepositions, see below section C.7.

9. CONJUNCTIONS

Co-ordinating conjunctions which deserve to be mentioned are: ἀμὴ (never ἀλλά), λοιπό(ν), τὸ λοιπόν, τὸ λοιπονίς (very frequent), and also a number of AG conjunctions such as δέ, γάρ, μηδέ, γοῦν, οὖν, ὅμως, and even μὲν ... δὲ ... Among subordinating conjunctions the following are noteworthy:
Temporal: ἀπῆτις, ἀπῆτι, ὄντεν, ὄνταν, ὄντα, ὀντά, πρὶν παρὰ νά, προυτοῦ, τόμου, ὅσο νά, ὥστε πού,
Causal: ἐπεί, ὅτι, τί,
Conditional: ἂν ἔναι καί, εἰ, ἅμα, ἄς, νά,
Dubitative: μήπως, φόρις.
For aspects of the usages of these conjunctions which require comment, see below section C. 6.

C. SYNTAX

1. GENERAL OBSERVATIONS

It is a commonly remarked feature of MG that *parataxis* is frequently preferred to *hypotaxis*. This tendency is present, as may be expected, in the *Rimada*: subordination is less common than co-ordination with καί, or even a juxtaposition of main clauses with no connection e.g.

35 Ἐγρίκησε ὁ βασιλεὺς ὅτι ἔρχεται στρατεία,
ἐσέβη στὸ παλάτι του κ' ἔκανε τὴν μαντεία.

In a more synthetic language like AG one might expect: «When he heard ... having entered ... he performed ...». The syntax of the *Rimada* may thus be characterised as analytical to a high degree, in keeping with the popular narrative style of the poem.

Certain other syntactical features worthy of note derive their existence from the metrical form of the *Rimada*. Here may be mentioned the frequent mispositioning of καὶ which connects two clauses. The conjunction is delayed *metri gratia* e.g.

135 Σηκώνεται ἡ Ὀλυμπιάς, στὸν Κτεναβὸν κ' ὑπάει
514 Ἐτότες ἐσηκώθηκε ἐκεῖθε καὶ μισεύει.
1221 Οἱ Μακεδόνες ἔτρεχαν τοὺς Πέρσες κ' ἐσκοτῶναν.

Another syntactical peculiarity caused by the metrical form is the existence of couplets where two verbs seem to share a subject or object; the first one and a half verses of the couplet seem to be complete in themselves, but the final hemistich contains a verb which requires the first half of that verses as its subject or object e.g.

2055 καὶ ὥρα τρίτη τῆς νυκτὸς ἀκούουν καὶ κτυποῦσι
τοῦ τόπου κείνου τὰ θηριὰ ἦλθαν νὰ ποτιστοῦσι.
2277 Στὴ στράτα ὅπου πήγαιναν Ἀλέξανδρος κοιτάζει
ἐκεῖνα τὰ ψηλὰ βουνὰ περίσσια τὰ θαυμάζει.

In such instances the syntactical anomaly can only have been brought about by the pressures of metre and rhyme.

Typical of the syntactical confusion of the poem are the instances of anacoluthon and non-agreement detailed below:

N o n - a g r e e m e n t:

(a) Dative and acc./voc. cases are found side by side in: 1063 σ' ἐσὲν Περσῶν Δαρείῳ, 1509 and 2553 μητρί μου Ὀλυμπιάδα.

(b) Non-agreement of subject and verb (singular subject and plural verb—often a *constructio ad sensum*): 332a Περὶ τὸ πῶς ἔδραμε Νικόλαος καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος, 1836 τὸν ἔπιασαν τοῦ Πώρου ἡ στρατιά του, etc.

The verb agrees with the nearer of two subjects:

928 οἱ στρατιῶτες κι ὁ λαὸς νὰ τὸν ἀκολουθήση.

The verb is not in the same person as the subject: 793 Καὶ γράφεις μου νὰ πάγωμε αὐτεῖνον γιὰ νὰ πιάσου (for the sake of rhyme), 1078 ἐσὺ καὶ ὁ λαὸς ἂς εἶν χαιρετισμένοι.

(c) A noun in the acc. (for the sake of rhyme) «agrees» with a p.p.p. in the nom.:
835 κι ὀρδινιασμένοι ἤσασι σ' αὐτὸ τοὺς Ἀμαζόνους (the line appears to be corrupt—see Commentary *ad loc.*); a p.p.p. is given a fem. termination (for the sake of rhyme), though it should agree with a masc. pronoun; 266 μ' ἔχει διαρμηνεμένη.

A n a c o l u t h o n:

A n a c o l u t h o n:

A sentence sometimes changes course half-way resulting in the break-down of syntactical unity e.g. 1225-6 Μὰ τ' ἄλλο μέρος τῶν Περσῶν, τὸ κρούσταλλο χαλάθη, κ' ἐπνίγησαν οἱ ἄτυχοι ... 1778 ἐγὼ ποὺ εἶμαι ἄκτιστος, κάμε νὰ μὲ φοβᾶσαι. Compare also the instances of nominative absolute (unrelated participles) listed below in Section 5(d).

2. THE ARTICLE

(a) The definite article is often omitted, solely for metrical reasons e.g. 1 Σοφία τῶν Αἰγύπτιων, 49 Γύπτιοι; even with possessive pronouns e.g. 84 ἄνδρας μου, 1387 μὲ χέρι σου etc. In some cases the article may be *heard* e.g. 2402 καὶ λακταρεῖ καρδιά μου, and here it has generally been supplied in the edition.

(b) With proper nouns the definite article may be employed or omitted at random, in accordance with metrical requirements e.g. 43 εἰς τὴν Μακεδονίαν, 473 'ς Μακεδονίαν.

(c) Again for metrical reasons, the definite art. is sometimes unnecessarily repeated: 323 ὁ Νικόλαος, υἱὸς ὁ τοῦ Δαρείου, 459-460 Βασιλεὺς Ἀλέξανδρος, ὁ τῆς Μακεδονίας, ὁ τοῦ Φιλίππου ὁ υἱὸς ...

(d) The def. art. is once used with an adj. to form a noun—a usage dating back to hellenistic and classical times: 381 τὸ πικρό του (Blass-Debr. § 263(2)).

3. THE CASES

(a) *Genitive* of indirect object (replacing AG dative) is, of course, the usual practice for pronouns, but it is also quite common in the *Rimada*

in the case of nouns e.g. 147 τοῦ Κτεναβῶνος, 203 τοῦ Φιλίππου, 389 τῆς μητρός του etc.

(b) Genitive of quality be observed in: 269 ἔναι τοῦ ριζικοῦ μου, 487-8 συντρόφους ... τοῦ σπαθίου ... τοῦ κονδαρίου, 497-8 παλικάρια ... τῆς ἀνδρειᾶς καθάρια, 1682 τῆς χρείας.

(c) Adverbial gen. 494 τῆς στερᾶς. Cf. 1328 τῆς ἀπωλείας, where the gen. is in origin a semitism in the phrase ὁ υἱὸς τῆς ἀπωλείας (John 17.12, see Blass. - Debr. § 162(b)), but is here used adverbially.

(d) The gen. is normally used with adverbs (replacing a compound or improper prep.) in the case of pronouns. An example of an adv. used with the gen. of a noun occurs at 1126: ὁλόγυρα τοῦ Δάρειου.

(e) Certain verbs take a direct object in the genitive: 56 ἤκουε τοῦ Ἐκτεναβοῦ, 1303 νὰ τοῦ γρικήση, 234 τῆς μάνας ἔμοιαζε (cf. 821), 390 πρέπει διὰ νὰ πείθεται ἐκείνη τοῦ πατρός του, 1017 οὐδὲν σοῦ πρέπει (cf. 1306, 1375), 81 θέλει σοῦ βοηθήσει (cf. 1059, 2234, but with acc. 201).

(f) *Nominative* is used for vocative at 2383: ἡ μάνα μου. (This usage occurs at various stages of the Greek language. For the NT see Blass.-Debrunner § 147, for later popular lit. see Mitsakis, *The Language of Romanos the Melodist*, Munich, 1967, p. 93 n. and Irmscher, Triv. p. 102 n.)

(g) *Accusative* is used for the indirect obj. in a few instances: 992 νὰ τὸν τὴν δώσουν, 1363 ἀλήθεια σὲ λέγω, and often after θυσιάζω: 608 τόνε θυσιάζει (cf. 522, 1434, 1492, 2611, 2631). But, apart from the last, such instances are suspiciously small in number.

(h) Accusative of reference may be observed in: 247 τοὺς χρόνους δωδεκάρης, 425 Παυσανίας ὄνομα, 60 τὴν τέχνην ... διαρμηνεμένος etc.

(i) A similar accusative, which may be termed internal, is found after intransitive or passive verbs which can properly have no object e.g. 205 τὸ ἐχάρη, 419 τὸ θυμώθη, 1134 τὰ τρώθη (cf. τὸ ἐπικράνθη Def. Sus. 10, πικραίνεταί το *ibid.* 176).

(j) *Dative*: the forms found in the *Rimada* have been listed above (B.2(e)). The commonest function is that of indirect object, but datives of reference and time also occur. All of these are deliberate archaising elements: the dative is no longer a syntactical feature of MG, its functions having been taken over by the acc. and gen. and by the prepositions.

4. THE PRONOUNS

(a) The weak forms of the personal pronouns may either precede or follow their verb e.g. 22 λέγει του, 74 ἀφήνει σε, 1270 δώσει τες ἤθελα 121 τὸν θέλω φέρει, 142 σοῦ μνέγω etc., and with the imperative, 2291 τὸν χαιρετᾶτε, 68 δές μου, 272 βεβαίωσέ μου το, 2273 στεῖλε μού τονε.

(b) When there are two pronouns, the gen. always precedes the acc., as in MG and the accent of the second may fall on the first if the verb is not accented on the last syllable e.g. 1487 εἶπε μού το, 2368 χωρίζει σού την.

(c) The preposition 'ς is combined with the article used as rel. pron.: 16 στὰ θέλει νὰ 'ρδινιάζη. Similarly 'ς is found linked with the rel. ποὺ: 549 Ἦλθε 'ς ποτάμι φοβερὸν 'ς ποὺ δώδεκα παγαίνει.

(d) The rel. pron. ποὺ / ὁποὺ is employed with enormous flexibility for a variety of functions; besides being used as nom. and acc. it is also found as a substitute for dat.—516 τοὺς θεούς, ὁπού 'τονε ταμένος, «the gods to whom he was vowed»—and, «like to whom», 817-8 εἶμ' ἐγὼ μεγάλος, στὸν κόσμον ὅλον τὸ λοιπὸν ποὺ δὲν ηὑρίσκετ' ἄλλος - «whose like does not exist in the whole world» (cf. 242, 848, 1252).

(e) The adverbial use of (τ') ὁποῖο(ν) is peculiar. See Commentary on 738, 746.

(f) Note also the phrases ὅποιος ἐκεῖνος and εἴτις ἐκεῖνος, «whosoever», 1439, 1622, 1634.

5. MOODS AND TENSES OF VERBS

(a) The *historic present* is very common; changes of tense within a sentence, from aorist to present and back to aorist or vice versa, often occur, mainly for reasons of metre and rhyme e.g. 1209-1210 and 1079-1080.

(b) The MG *Future* with θὰ is not yet in existence. Various periphrases are in use for the formation of the future tense, the commonest of which uses some part of θέλω with the infinitive or νὰ and subjunctive[1] e.g. 81 θέλει σοῦ βοηθήσει, 87 θὲς τὸν ἰδεῖ, 132 ὁρίσει θέλει, 666 πάρει θέ, 110 θὲ νὰ μείνω, 385 θὲ νὰ πάψου etc. Another common way of forming the future is the use of νὰ or γιὰ νὰ + subj. alone, e.g. 252 ὅλον τὸ φουσάτο μου ἐσὺ νὰ τ' ὀρδινιάζης, 654 ἐγὼ νὰ κάμω εἰς ἐσᾶς μεγάλη λεμοσύνη, 301 Ρωτᾶ καὶ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον, τί γιὰ νὰ τοῦ χαρίση etc.

(c) No instance of the MG *Perfect* with ἔχω and aor. inf. occurs and there is a single example of that type of pluperf. 2784 εἶχα πάγει. Otherwise in the *Rimada* the perfect and plup. are formed by means of ἔχω

1. It should be noted that θέλω νὰ in its full form often has a purely desiderative meaning e.g. 1761 θέλετε νὰ μισέψετε.

and the past part. pass. (agreeing with the direct obj.). All such forms are naturally in the active voice e.g. 716 τὰ μὄχει δῶ γραμμένα, 728 τά 'χει μιλημένα, 994 σ' ἔχομε μηνημένο, 833 τὰ δρεπανοάμαξα εἶχαν ὀρδινιασμένα, 1236 μ' εἶχε μεμετρημένο, 1290 τοὺς εἴχασι θαμμένους etc.

(d) The *present participle* in -οντα (ς) is in quite wide use (on its formation see above B.7 (e)), but because of the poet's lack of education it is sometimes not integrated into the structure of its sentence i.e. a nominative absolute occurs e.g. 209 Σηκώνοντας ὁ Φίλιππος, τ' ἀβγὸ ἐκαταλύθη, 399 Γυρίζοντας 'Αλέξανδρος ... ἤλθασιν, 2205 πηγαίνοντας τὸν ξάφνισαν.

(e) An unfulfilled wish in the past may be expressed by ἀγάπουν νὰ + impf. e.g. 1416 ἀγάπουν νά 'ταν ζωντανοί, 2423 ἀγάπουν νά 'σουν γιός μου.

(f) The *Infinitive* survives with a small number of functions: it is used for the formation of the future (see above (b)); it is used after (ἠ)μπορῶ (but never after δύνομαι) e.g. δὲν ἠμπορεῖ πομένει (1048), δὲν ἠμπορῶ σὲ γράφει (2654); indirect deliberative questions often employ the infinitive e.g. δὲν εἶχα τὸ τί κάμει (2635); the conditional mood is formed as a periphrasis with ἤθελα and the infinitive e.g. ὅσοι τοῦ θέλαν λάχει (2924), κεῖνο ποὺ τοῦ 'θελε φανῆ (304).

(g) *Active/passive interchange.* A passive form is sometimes used for an active one, and, occasionally, vice versa: ἀγκαλιάσθηκε (191), ἀγκαλιάσθη (437), ἀγκαλιάστηκε (528) for ἀγκάλιασε; ν' ἀπαντιέται (1070) for ν' ἀπαντᾶ; ἐμαντεύθη (290a) for μάντεψε; νὰ προσέχεται (162) for νὰ προσέχη; ἐσκοτῶσα (894) for σκοτώθηκαν; συβουλεύομαι (1101) for συβουλεύω; φαντάζει (108) for φαντάζεται.
In some of these instances it may simply be a question of «poetic licence» to facilitate a required rhyme, in others a dialectal usage. A confusion between moods is, however, a frequent feature of late Byzantine and early MG. (See in particular Def. Log. Did. note on line 22). Past participles of intransitive verbs, though passive in form, have active meanings as often in MG: ἀγριωμένοι wild, ξεσπαθωμένοι with swords drawn etc. (Cf. Thumb | 234).

6. SUBORDINATE CLAUSES

(a) In indirect statements the conjuction (ὅτι, τὶ, πῶς) is often omitted e.g. 7 Ἔλεγε γὰρ 'Εκτεναβὸς τὴν Αἴγυπτ' ἀφεντεύει, 37 Κ' ἐγρίκησε ὀκ τὴν μαντειὰ χάνει τὴν βασιλειά του etc.

(b) καὶ is sometimes substituted for ὅτι so that the subordinate clause is in fact co-ordinated with the main e.g. 277 Σὰν εἶδεν ὁ 'Αλέξανδρος

κι αὐτεῖνος ἀποθαίνει, 737 Λέγεις ἐσὺ κ' εἶσαι θεὸς (cf. 800, 1132, 1521, 1775) (Tzartzanos § 220).

(c) In the same way καὶ + indic. is sometimes found where νὰ + subj. would be expected, after verbs of perception etc. e.g. 103 Εἶδε καὶ τὴν ἀγκάλιασε, 1731 εἶπα καὶ τὸν σκοτώνουν.

(d) «So that, perhaps, in case that» is expressed by μὴ νὰ, μήπως or φόρις e.g. 2768 μὴ νὰ ξεράση, 1640 μήπως ἐκεῖ χαθοῦμε, 1303 φόρις νὰ τοῦ γρικήση, 1588 φόρις νὰ ἔλθη 'ς πεθυμιά.

(e) Indirect questions introduced by interrogative words are often preceded by the article τὸ e.g. τὸ ποιὸς νὰ 'ρίση (316), τὸ τί ... θέλει ποίσει (255), τὸ πῶς τὸ κράζουν (575), τὸ πόσον θέλει ζήσει (2441) etc.
Deliberative questions in indirect speech take the forms: 157 δὲν εἶχε τί νὰ ποίση, 2635 δὲν εἶχα τὸ τί κάμει.

(f) «Lest» is expressed by μὴν or μήπως e.g. 1075-6 μηδὲν ταράσσης ... | μὴν ἔλθης εἰς 'Αλέξανδρον καὶ χάσης τὴ ζωή σου, 439-40 φοβήθηκε νὰ σύρη μὲ μανία | μήπως καὶ τὴν μητέρα του σφάξη μὲ Παυσανία.

(g) On the various means of expressing conditional sentences in MG, see Σ. Ψάλτης, «Περὶ τῶν ὑποθετικῶν λόγων ἐν τῇ Μέσῃ καὶ Νεωτέρᾳ 'Ελληνικῇ», *Lex. Arch.* 5, 1918, 40-57, to which reference will often be made in what follows. The following constructions are worthy of note:
1. Real conditions present few irregularities, except that other conjunctions besides ἂν are in use viz. ἂν ἔναι καί, ἄς, ἅμα, e.g. 255-6 ... τὸ τί μοῦ θέλει ποίσει | ὁ ἄνδρας μου ὁ Φίλιππος, ἂν ἔναι καὶ μ' ἀφήση.
1495-6 'Ορέγομαι καὶ ἀγαπῶ ἐγὼ γιὰ νὰ τὴν πάρω | ὡσὰν γυναίκα μου αὐτήν, ἂς ἔχη αὐτὸ τὸ θάρρο.
177 Ἄμα θεοὶ τὸ θέλουσι, δὲν ἔχω τί νὰ ποίσω.
1748 ἂς πολεμίζη μοναχός, ἀμά 'ναι ἀνδρειωμένος.
(For ἂν ἔν καὶ as a conditional conj. see Psaltis, *op. cit.*, 51f.).
2. The form of unreal conditions has not been fully standardised by the time of the *Rimada* (MG ἂν + impf. in protasis, θὰ + impf. in apodosis: Tzartzanos § 245(2)). The impf. may be used in both protasis and apodosis:
906 ἂ δὲν τὰ τρώγαμε, ἤμαστ' ἀποθαμένοι
(Psaltis, *op. cit.*, 50); or the pluperf. may be employed in the protasis:
2784 ἂν εἶχα πάγει ἄφαντος Θεὸν μὲ εἶχαν ἄλλον,
or again, ἤθελα + inf. is used in the apodosis: 1435-4 ἂν ἔζη Δάρειος ... πάντα του μ' ἐμὲν ἤθελε πολεμάει.
3. Conditions expressing a future possibility may employ the impf. in both clauses e.g.
2264 Ἂν ἔβλεπα τὴ χώρα σου εἶχα χαρὰ μεγάλη,

or aor. subj. in the protasis and ἤθελα + inf. in the apodosis: 303-4 ... ἂν ἔναι καὶ ὁρίση, | κεῖνο ποὺ τοῦ 'θελε φανῇ, ἤθελεν τοῦ χαρίσει. (Psaltis, *op. cit.*, 51f.)

4. Instead of ἄν, νὰ may be used as a conditional conjunction e.g., 20a-b Γνώση νὰ 'ναι μαθημένη, τὴν ἀνδρείαν ὑπερβαίνει. 31-2 Καὶ χίλια πρόβατα λοιπὸν ὁ λύκος νὰ ξαφνίση, | δύνεται μὲ τὰ δόντια του ὅλα νὰ τὰ ξεσκίση. (On the genesis of this νὰ, see Psaltis, *op. cit.*, 43, 46).

5. When the protasis of the condition consists of two parallel clauses, ἂν may be replaced by (γιὰ) νὰ in the second:

1923 Ἂν ἔλθ' ἀγάπη εἰς ἐμᾶς κ' ἐμεῖς γιὰ νὰ σταθοῦμε ...

(Cf. Chron. Mor. 4226, 4248, and Psaltis, *op. cit.*, 46).

6. The fossilised AG εἰ δὲ καὶ also serves as a conditional conjunction: E47-9 εἰ δὲ καὶ οὐ θελήσης ... | παρακαλῶ σ' Ἀλέξανδρου αὐτεῖνο νὰ χαρίσης.

7. In some instances ἂν is omitted altogether:

115-6 ... Θὲ νὰ 'χης θεραπεία, | κάμε βραδὺ στὸ σπίτι σου νὰ 'χω μεγάλη ἀδεία.
2678 Ἤξερες θὲς νὰ ποίσω, πῶς δὲν ἐπαραμέρισες (see Commentary *ad oc.*). 1761 Θέλετε νὰ μισέψετε, τινὰς δὲν σᾶς κρατίζει.

In such cases the protasis becomes virtually a question (see Thumb § 277 n. 3.)

8. A conditional mood in a main clause is expressed by ἤθελα + inf.:
1270 ἐγὼ δώσει τες ἤθελα.
1454 ἤθελε πολεμάει.

(b) Indefinite relative clauses usually employ the aor. subj. e.g. 297 ἐκεῖνος ὅπ' ὁρίση, 840 τότε νὰ κάμη πασαεὶς ἐκεῖνο ποὺ μπορέση. A *restrictive* relative clause («such that he is») may be expressed by ποὺ νὰ + subj e.g. 294b γέρος ποὺ νά'ναι πελελὸς (Tzartzanos § 266 ε').

7. PREPOSITIONS

ἀπὸ: «from, by» etc. Usually with the accusative as in MG. Sometimes with gen. e.g. 340 ἀπὸ πλευροῦ. The form ἀπὲ is found at line 2326: ἀπὲ τὴν τόσην ἐμορφιά, and E38 ἀπὲ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον.

διὰ / γιὰ «for, because of, about». γιὰ is monosyllabic, διὰ disyllabic in general (exceptions to this rule are very few). Both are widely used according to the necessity of the metre. γιὰ is found once with the genitive: E34 γιὰ τῶν αὐτοῦ παιδίων. The forms διατὰ and γιατὰ also occur, the former being trisyllabic, the latter disyllabic: 2221 διατ' ἐμένα; 2340 γιατ' αὖτο and 1468 γιατ' αὖτο; 2863 γιατ' ἐμένα.

δίχως and acc. «without»: The accentuation varies: e.g. 391 δίχως μάχη, 1278 δίχως κανένα κόπον. But 1431 διχῶς αἰτίες. μὲ δίχως occurs once (line 340); cf. also the phrase (μὲ) δίχως ἄλλο (1312, 2510, 2916).

εἰς / σὲ: «to, at» etc.: Both forms are found, the only distinction being metrical necessity. Σὲ is often contracted with the definite article, as in MG. Εἰς often suffers apocope and becomes 'ς, even when a vowel does not precede it: e.g. 473 ἦλθαν 'ς Μακεδονίαν. There is another form εἰσέ, e.g. 717 εἰσὲ παιδάρι. Εἰς is used with the gen. at line 448: ὀμπρὸς εἰς τοῦ πατρός του, and with a curious dative at line 2925: στοῖς ποσί.

ἐκ / ἐξ / ὀκ etc. «out of, from» etc.: Like εἰς, ἐκ often suffers aphaeresis, particularly before the definite article: 'κ τὴν, 'κ τὸ etc. Ἐκ and ὀκ are used when a consonant follows, and ἐξ and ὀξ (the latter occurs once only, line 1980) when a vowel follows. Ἐκ and ἐξ are the more common forms. The latter, like εἰς, suffers aphaeresis when metrical necessity demands it, but as this form is only found with a vowel following perhaps it should be written ξ', especially considering that a form ξὲ occurs once in the poem (line 1426 ξὲ κανέναν). The usual case which follows the many forms of ἐκ is the accusative, but there is a significant number of instances where the genitive is used, e.g. 173 μέσα ἐκ τοῦ φουσάτου, 981 ἐκ τοῦ Δαρείου, 1412 'κ τῆς λαμπρᾶς αὐτῆς τῆς Ὀλυμπίας, 316 ἐξ αὐτῶν.

ἐν «in»: Only in the phrase ἐν τῷ ἅμα, lines 2329 and 2341.

ἕως and acc. «up to, as many as, as far as»:
492 ἕως πεντακόσια,
2036 ἕως τὰ ἐνενήντα,
cf. 2861 ἕως κάτω.

κατὰ and acc. «at (time), towards, in accordance with»: 554 κατὰ τὴν ὥρα (and 2357), 858 κατὰ τὴν τάξη (and 1062); κατὰ and gen. «during, in» (non-classical): 1095 καθ' ὕπνου.

μὲ / μετὰ «with, after»: for «with», both forms are used with acc. or gen. e.g. 344 μετὰ τὴν πονηρία, 851 μετὰ κονδάρια, 288, 330 μετ' αὖτον, 908 μετὰ μένα, 2574 μετ' ἐμέ, 1845 μ' ἐμένα, 324 μὲ ραβδίου, 2626 μ' ἐμόρφων λιθαρίων, 1180 μετὰ πολλῆς μανίας, 2567 μετὰ πολλοῦ γὰρ κόπου etc. μετὰ with the meaning «after» is found in μετὰ ταῦτα (1394, 1507, 1581) and μετὰ τὴν λύτρωσιν (E55).

παρὰ and gen. «from»: 2935 παρὰ Θεοῦ; παρὰ and acc. «contrary to»: 2497 παρὰ φύση.

περὶ and acc. «about, concerning»: Very frequently in the chapter-headings in the phrase περὶ τὸ πῶς e.g. 6a, 100a, 124a etc. Other exam-

ples of περὶ and acc. are also mainly in chapter-headings e.g. 152a περὶ τὴν μαγείαν, 184c περὶ τὴν μεταμόρφωσιν. At line 1512, περὶ = «more than» (= παρά).

περὶ and gen. «concerning»: With no diference of meaning from περὶ and acc. 222a Περὶ τῆς γεννήσεως 'Αλεξάνδρου, 240a Περὶ τοῦ Βουκεφάλου.

πρὸς and acc. «to» etc.: Frequently e.g. 33 πρὸς τὸ παρόν, 762 πρὸς τὸν Δάρειον etc.

ὡς and acc. «up to, as far as»: e.g. 1278 ὡς τώρα, 1571 ὡς τέσσαρα πηχάρια, ; 2017 ὡς μίαν ὥραν, 2648 ὡς ἀπάνω etc.

ἐπὶ and gen. «upon»: Once only: E45 ἐπὶ γῆς.

Improper (or compound) prepositions

ἀντάμα μὲ and acc. «together with»: 1362 ἀντάμα μὲ τὸν τόπον σου καὶ μὲ τὴν ἐξουσά σου, 2090 ἀντάμα μὲ τὰ ἄλογα, 2574 ἀντάμα, λέγω, μετ' ἐμέ.

ἀντάμα σὲ and acc. «together with»: 2930 ἀντάμα νὰ τὸν βάλουσι 'ς Φίλιππον τὸν πατήρ του.

ἀντίδικα «against»: Only with a pronoun: 1240 ἀντίδικά μου.

ἀπάνω σὲ / εἰς «On»: *Passim*. E.g., 105 ἀπάνω σὲ κλινάρι; 857 ἀπάνω εἰς τ' ἁμάξι. Also used with the weak forms of the pronouns, often in the form ἀπάνου: ἀπάνου μας, ἀπάνου σου, ἀπάνου τους etc.

ἀπάνω ἐκ «above»: 2859 ἀπάνω 'κ τὴν Βαβυλωνιά.

ἀνάντια σὲ «opposite, on the other side of»: 2847 ἀνάντια στὸ ποτάμι.

ἔξω ἀπὸ «without»: 1258 ἔξω ἀπὸ τὴν τιμή μου.

κοντὰ σὲ «near to»: With a noun: 1672 κοντὰ 'ς νησίν. With the genitive of the weak forms of the personal pronouns: 227 κοντά της, 1694 ἀπὸ κοντά μου, etc.

μέσα σὲ «inside»: 1143 μέσα εἰς τὸ παλάτι, 2881 μέσα νὰ τὸ βάλετε 'ς ναόν, etc. μέσα is also found with the gen. of the weak personal pronouns: e.g. μέσα του (1231, 2374).

μέσα ἐκ «from within, out of»: 210 μέσα ἐκ τὸ φλούδι του; 1593 μέσα 'κ τὸν καλαμιώνα; 2775 μέσα ἐκ τὸ κελί του; 173 μέσα ἐκ τοῦ φουσάτου.

ὁλόγυρα «around»: With the gen. of the weak pronouns: 2317 ὁλόγυρά του; 2320 ὁλόγυρά τους. At line 1126 it seems to be used as a simple preposition with the genitive: ὁλόγυρα τοῦ Δάρειου.

ὁμοῦ μὲ «together with»: 648 ὁμοῦ μὲ τῆς Σουρίας, 2300 ὁμοῦ μὲ τὸν Κανδάλη.

ὀμπρὸς / ἐμπρὸς εἰς «in front of»: 448 ὀμπρὸς εἰς τοῦ πατρός του, 1719 ὀμπρὸς ὑπᾶνε τὰ πουλιὰ εἰς τὴν ἐπίσκεψή μας. Frequently with the gen. of the weak personal pronouns e.g. 70 ὀμπρός της; 148, 447 etc. ὀμπρός του; 1597 ἐμπρός τους.

χώρια «separately from, without»: 2336 χώρια του (perhaps corrupt, see Commentary *ad loc.*).

D. CHARACTERISTICS OF LANGUAGE

1. ARCHAISMS

Early modern Greek popular literature suffered considerably from the intimidating influence of the Byzantine learned language employed for all official purposes, religious and civil. The result is that all the popular texts, until the great period of Cretan literature in the late sixteenth and the seventeenth century up to 1669, are shot through with archaising linguistic elements to a greater or lesser degree, and the *Rimada* is no exception. This archaising influence makes its presence felt at every level, phonetic, morphological, syntactical and lexical.

(a) *Phonetic archaism*: this is most clearly observed in the treatment of consonant groups: the preservation of φθ, πτ, φχ, χθ, κτ, σθ, and fs is a phenomenon quite foreign to the phonetics of spoken MG (see above, section A.2(b)); similarly the use of νδ is an orthographic convention (A. 2(c)). The treatment of final -ν by the author of the *Rimada* is inconsistent: sometimes it is lost in accordance with MG phonetics, sometimes it is retained after the declension and conjugation patterns of AG (section A.2(e)). All instances where final -ν occurs without the justification of a following vowel or unvoiced stop may be regarded as phonetic archaisms.

(b) *Morphological archaism*: in this category may be mentioned the forms of the articles τάς, εἰς and ἕν, acc. pl. of masc. and fem. nouns in -ας and the few nominatives in -αι, the voc. δέσποτα, all the remnants of the AG third decl. (though exception must be made for certain genitives like πατρὸς and γυναικὸς which survive as popular forms in some dialects) all instances of the dative case, the form and accentuation of certain adjectives, adverbs in -ως, the pronoun ἡμεῖς, the possessives οἱ ἐμοί, ἡ σὴ etc., the demonstratives ταῦτα, ταύτην, the relative ἥν, forms of πᾶς and ἅπας (other than the popular indeclinable πάσα), the strong aorist ἔδραμον, first and second person pl. pass. in -όμεθα and -εσθε, the contract verb forms δηλοῖ, πληροῦμε, διορθοῦνται, the declinable participles ἰδὼν etc., the imp. φύλαξον, the optative χαίροις, reduplicated perfects like γεγραμμένα etc. (section B. 1-7).

(c) ***Syntactical archaism***: certain AG conjunctions are found in the *Rimada* - δέ, γάρ, μηδέ, γοῦν, οὖν, ὅμως, μὲν ... δὲ (see above section B. 9) — the presence of which must be attributed to the influence of the purist language. γὰρ is particularly overworked, so much so that it has ceased to have any real meaning and merely serves as a metrical convenience.
Other features to be regarded as syntactical archaisms are: all uses of the dat. case, the gen. after the prepositions ἀπό, ἐκ and ἐξ, μετά, παρά, περί, and ἐπί, the dat. after ἐν (see above, C.7); finally the negative is often expressed by the AG οὐ etc. (see Glossary s.vv. οὐ, οὐκ) instead of the popular forms οὐδέ(ν), δέ(ν).

(d) *Lexical archaism*: considering the fact that the *Rimada* is descended directly from a work in a purist form of language, the extent to which lexical archaism is found in it is remarkably small. Some of the words in the following list do indeed derive from the prose versions of the Romance, while others have been introduced by the poet himself in order to elevate his style[1]: αἶγες, ἀνυμνῶ, ἄνω, ἀπολλύω, ἄρχω, ἀσθενής, βούλομαι, βροτός, βρῶμα, γινώσκω, γλωσσόκομον, δαίμων, δέομαι, δῶμα, ἐνδεής, ἐξῆς, θνητός, ἵππος, κελεύω, κλίνη, κρεῖττον, κτείνω, κτῶμαι, μιασμένος, μιαρός, ὀδύρομαι, οἶκος, οἰκητήριον, οἶνος, ὄπισθεν, ὄρος, οὕτως, ὀφθαλμός, πάμπολυς, παντελῶς, παρευθύς, πίθος, πολλάκις, ρομφαία, σελήνη, συνειδός, συννοοῦμαι, τοιοῦτος, τύπτω, ὧδε, ὥσπερ.

2. BARBARISMS

The ill-educated poets writing in the spoken language from the twelfth to the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries frequently resorted to false archaisms in an attempt to elevate their style. Their intention was to use more impressive AG forms, while the result was that they created forms which had never existed in the history of Greek or misused the archaic forms. Such phenomena, which may be termed «barbarisms», have been defined as elements which cannot be connected with either AG or MG or be fitted into the general current of development of Greek[2]. In the *Rimada* the following forms should be considered as barbarisms:

1. See the Glossary for references to the relevant verses: a number of these words occur only in the Epilogue.
2. Einl. 15. Further, R. M. Dawkins, «Graeco - Barbara», *Transactions of the Philological Society*, 1939, 1-30.

βασίλισσης (see Section B. 2(b))[1], τὸν πατήρ, τὴν γυνή, μητρὶ (voc. / acc. - B. 2(d)), στοῖς ποσὶ (B. 2(e)), ὑψηλότατην (B. 3(a)), ἑπταχίλιους (B. 6(e)), the reduplicated aor. ἐτετυπώθη (B.7(k)).
Certain irregularities of accentuation must also be treated as barbarisms: e.g. where the accentuation of the dat. is transferred to the nom. or acc. as in δυνάμη, ὀνεῖρο etc., and where a false accentuation is employed for metrical reasons or out of ignorance, as in εὔνουχος, θεράπειαν etc. (A.3). Finally there are phonetic barbarisms, where the consonant groups φθ, πτ, νδ have been incorrectly restored (A.2(b) and (c)).

3. DIALECT

When the archaisms and barbarisms have been sifted away, the question must be asked as to whether any features pointing to a particular local idiom or dialect may be discerned. The answer is, undoubtedly, that they may, but the proof, in the absence of a thorough investigation of the dialects of medieval Greek, is more difficult to provide.
Given that the first editor of the Alexander poem originated from Zakynthos, and that the versifier is also stated to have been «in Zakynthos» (Epilogue, line 12), it is natural that any investigation into the localisation of the language of the poem should turn first to Zakynthos. Although the material is scanty, almost non-existent, for the state of the Zakynthian idiom in the sixteenth century, certain words and forms which are nowadays characteristic of the speech of the Heptanese or are only found in other Heptanesian texts compel the conclusion that the *Rimada* was written by a native of those islands. Some forms which may be regarded as typical features of the Heptanesian idioms are the addition of -ε to the third person pl. of verbs and to the acc. sing. of nouns and pronouns, the contraction of ̣ου and ε to ο, adverbs in -ου (ἀπάνου, κάτου etc.), and many other words or forms such as οὖλος, ἐδεπά, πάλε, μόνε, δαῦτος, and the preposition ὀκ or ὀχ. In the ***Rimada*** all these features are present.
Certain other elements which are characteristic of the modern idiom of Zakynthos (ματα- for μετα-, the syncopated articles and pronouns τσί, τσῆ, τσ', ἐκειὸς for ἐκεῖνος, ὄξω for ἔξω etc.) do not occur in the poem and are probably more recent developments.
Besides the features just mentioned, there are other elements in the poem

1. But not θαλάσσου, which occurs frequently in texts and should be regarded rather as an unsuccessful linguistic experiment; see Dawkins, *op. cit.*, pp. 8-9.

which also point to a Zakynthian or, at least, Heptanesian origin; such are ἀθιβόλαιον (this meaning only Zakynthos), ἀκαρτερῶ (only in texts with Heptanesian connections), ἀνάζω (Zakynthos and Peloponnese only), ἀσηκώνω (mainly Heptanesian), βασταίνω (Zakynthos, Cephalonia, Crete, Peloponnese), χαρκαρίζω (Zakynthos only), συζώντανος (only in exactly this form in Katsaïtis—a Cephalonian), τρομῶ (Zakynthos only) (see Glossary for references).

Taking into consideration Zinos' words in the Epilogue, we would thus be justified in concluding that the *Rimada* contains many genuine elements of the Zakynthian idiom[1], though they are heavily interspersed with puristic and pseudo-erudite forms which represent the poet's desire to lend respectability and «class» to his work, and that its author was in all probability a native of Zakynthos.

4. LOANWORDS

In comparison with some works of modern Greek literature of this period the *Rimada* is not very rich in borrowings from other languages. There is, however, a large category of inherited words of Latin origin, some of which are still in everyday use today e.g. ἀκουμπίζω (ἀκουμπῶ), ἅρματα, ἀρματώνω, βάρκα, βουλώνω, καβαλάρης, καβαλικεύω, κάρβουνο, κελί, κάστρο, κορόνα, κούπα, μακελεῖο, μάστορας, μαστορεύω, μίλι, παλάτι, σα(γ)ίτα, σέλα, σκαλί, στάβλος, στράτα, τάβλα, τσεκούρι.

Other Latin loanwords which have now become completely obsolete or rarely used except in the more conservative dialects are: ἀπλικεύω, ἀρματωσία, βιγλάτορας, βούκινο, βουλωτήριν, κασίδι, κατούνα, κατόνα, κηντηνάρι, κόμης, κουρσεύω, κούρσεμα, μαντάτο, μόδι, ὀρδινιά, ὀρδινιάζω, τεντώνω (= encamp), φαμελία, φλουρί, φούρκα, φουρκίζω, φουσάτο.

All these words are borrowed at an early stage in the development of medieval Greek. Later borrowings or Latin origin have reached Greek via the Romance languages, usually Italian. This stratum, together with other words deriving from Italian, is represented in the *Rimada* by βέρος, γατί, δουκάτο, δραγουμάνος (ultimately of Arabic origin), κολόνα, κουμούνι, κουρτεσία, ματσούκι, πετσοκοπισμὸς (Italian *pezzo*), ρίμα, φόρις. The geographical names Πούλια and Πουλιέζος are also borrowed direct from Italian *Puglia* and *Pugliese*. More subtle influence of Italian may

1. Only one feature of the language of the poem suggests an idiom other than that of Zakynthos, and that is the Cretan τως (1618) which is employed merely for the sake of rhyme.

be seen in the accentuation of ἱστόρια and of the proper nouns Σαρακῆνον, Δάρειος and Κασσάνδρος (see above, section A.3). In the word ἀρμάδα which derives from Venetian *armada*, there has apparently been a semantic shift from «army» to «court» (see Commentary on 187).

There is only one word of Turkish origin in the *Rimada* - σεντούκι. This is not surprising, given the rather early date of composition of the poem and the general lack of contact between the Ottoman Empire and the Ionian Isles. Two borrowings from Arabic are found: ἀνακαρὰς and χαντάκι. Their occurrence is by no means restricted to the present work. Finally the verb (ἀ)γγαρεύω, which derives from Persian, is long established in Greek.

E. VERSIFICATION

1. METRE

The metre in which the poem is written is that of the vast majority of of popular Greek verse compositions of the middle ages—the iambic fifteen-syllable, the so-called «political verse»[1]. The basic form of the metre is:

∪ - ∪ - ∪ - ∪ - / ∪ - ∪ - ∪ - ∪

with, generally, a caesura after the eighth syllable. In the Alexander poem this caesura is observed invariably. Many variations of the basic metrical scheme are permitted, so that the verse can be prevented from becoming as wearisome as it would be in its basic form. One variation very frequently employed by the poet of the *Rimada* is the accentuation of the first syllable of either or both hemistiches to produce a dactylic effect e.g.

379 Ἔπιασε κ' ἐκατάκοψε ὅλους τοὺς καλεσμένους.
441 Εἶπε του ἡ μητέρα του· «Σύρε το τὸ κονδάρι».
1195 Ὥρισεν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ὅλοι ν' ἀρματωθοῦσι.

Similarly, an anapaestic start to the verse is possible, but this variation

1. Of the numerous studies of this metre may be mentioned: K. Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur*, Zweite Aufl., Munich, 1897, p. 650; S. Baud-Bovy, *La chanson populaire grecque du Dodécanèse*, Paris, 1936, vol. I, p. 39ff., and H. Grégoire's review of the latter in *Byzantion* 12, 1937, 650-8; L. Politis, *Μεγάλη Ἑλληνικὴ Ἐγκυκλοπαιδεία*, s.v. δεκαπεντασύλλαβος.

is not employed anything like as commonly as the dactylic e.g.

771 Βασιλεὺς μέγας Δάρειος, γράφω τὸν ὁρισμόν μου.
987 Ἐπειδὴ τὸν ἀφέντη σου θέλεις νὰ παραδώσῃς.
2177 Πεντακόσια ἀγένεια παιδία νὰ σοῦ πέψω.

The second hemistich may also occasionally by anapaestic, e.g.

542 ὄχ τὸ φουσάτ' ἀπέρασε καὶ ὀμπρὸς πάντα πάει[1].

A number of hypometric and hypermetric lines is also to be found, though again the number is comparatively small. Many of these occur in the first lines of letters e.g.

459 Βασιλεὺς Ἀλέξανδρος, ὁ τῆς Μακεδονίας.
679 Βασιλεὺς ὁ Δάρειος, αὐθέντης τῆς Περσίας.

As this sort of line occurs several times, no attempt has been made to correct the metre, though this could easily be achieved. It appears that the poet deliberately permitted himself this licence for the opening verse of a letter. Other hypometric verses are: 643, 729, 1015, 1033, 1097, 1305, 1509, 1993, 2022, 2679. Hypermetric are: 806, 1217, 1265, 1488, 1842, 2296, 2485. In many other cases metrical deficiencies of one sort or another have been cured by means of slight alteration of the text[2]. Synizesis, by which is to be understood the blending of two adjacent vowels to form a single syllable, is rarely employed by the author of the *Rimada*, except when [i] is followed by another vowel. In such instances synizesis, or more correctly palatalisation of the preceding consonant, regularly takes place e.g. 16 κερὶ-ἔκανε, 176 μὴ-ἔναι, 220 θέλει-ὁρίσει etc. For other vowels there are only a few examples: 449 παιδί μου-Ἀλέξανδρε, 577 ὅρισε-ἡ αὐθεντιά σου[3].

This lack of synizesis is explained by a preference for apocope or aphaeresis, both of which occur frequently throughout the work and have not been interfered with in the present edition.

A similar phenomenon is noted by Follieri in the Venetian edition of the Greek *Theseid,* published by the same house and in the same year as the *Rimada*[4]. This orthographic practice may, therefore, have been

1. Cf. vv. 1153, 1193, 1283. A stress on the fifth syllable is rare (cf. vv. 733, 2779) but permitted under certain circumstances; see L. Politis, *op. cit., loc. cit.*

2. Such are vv. 101, 492, 689, 1037, 1227, 1245, 1365, 1449, 1531, 1571, 1811, 2119, 2240, 2254, 2720, 2784, 2836, 2880.

3. The remaining instances are in vv. 698, 1007, 1177, 1258, 1835, 2553, 2865, 2895, 2901.

4. E. Follieri, «La versione in greco volgare del Teseida di Boccaccio», *Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici* 7, 1953 *(= Atti dello VIII Congresso Internat. di Studi Bizantini),* vol. I, p. 72.

a sort of «house style», or merely the habit of one man who worked as editor, corrector or compositor[1]. Hiatus occurs so frequently that it can only be assumed that the poet was completely insensitive to any need to avoid it. Some astonishing examples of multiple hiatus occur e.g. 107 ἐξύπνησε ἡ Ὀλυμπιάς, 517 τὸ ὄνομα Ἀμμῶνος, 1110 δύο ἄλογα ἄφησε, Ὅρμηλος τὰ φυλάει, 2749 Ἄλλοι οἱ ἀποδέλοιποι εἶχαν βουλὴ σταμένη.

It may also be noted that enjambement occurs sometimes within couplets, but that each couplet almost invariably forms an independent sense-unit.

2. RHYME

In addition to the metrical imperfections already noted, there are also a few flaws in the use of rhyme in the *Rimada*. In slightly earlier texts rhymes are found in groups of two, three, four or more lines, but the text of the *Rimada* is rhymed quite regularly in couplets. There are, however, some instances of imperfect rhyme such as would not be tolerated by the modern ear. They fall into various categories:

(a) Differences in the distribution of final -ν.

That the sixteenth century ear was sensitive to such imperfections is indicated by the corrections of later editors of the printed text (see Commentary on v. 109). Such instances of final -ν disturbing the rhyme may have resulted from the failure of the poet himself to check his manuscript, or from careless or deliberate alterations by scribes or editor or compositor. In any case there is evidence that such flaws were felt to mar the rhyme, and accordingly they have been removed wherever possible in the present edition viz. at vv. 109-110, 329-330, 383-4, 597-8, 1085-6, 1091-2, 1405-6, 1535-6, 2087-8, 2783-4. The sole remaining case of this type of imperfection is at vv. 1671-2 κεῖνο - Ἑλλήνων, where to remove final -ν would have introduced a phonetic phenomenon — loss of -ν in gen. pl. — not elsewhere found in the poem.

(b) Easily - curable imperfections of rhyme (often, but not always, caused by an archaising tendency on the part of scribe, editor or com-

1. This phenomenon, together with the many linguistic similarities between the two texts and, above all, the fact that Dimitrios Zinos seems to have written the manuscript used for the printing of the *Theseid* (see above, p. 46 note 5), points to the conclusion that the editions were both prepared by the same man—Dimitrios Zinos.

positor). Such are: 91-2 κάμνει-βοτάνι, 467-8 φουσάτο - κάτου (cf. vv. 23-4), 1523-4 κάμνουν - ἀναθιβάνουν, 1979-80 κάμνει - βάνει.

(c) «Half-rhymes» in which either the two endvowels or the last vowel and the preceding consonant(s) are identical in sound, e.g. 51-2 ν' ἀκούσῃ - νὰ γυρίσῃ, 151-2 νὰ 'ρδινιάσω - πιάσω, 317-8 παλικαρία - Μωρέα, 523-3 ἀρετή του - πατήρ του, 915-6 ἐδιάβη - λιβάδι, 683-4 δέρνουν - μαστιγώνουν, 2205-6 ἔθνος - μόνος etc. There are 76 such cases in the poem. The indications are, from this and other contemporary texts, that this licence was considered a legitimate tool of the sixteenth and seventeenth century versifier[1].

(d) Finally, there is only one «incurable» rhyme: 333-4 Νικόλας - ἀστέρας. Even here, however, the final vowel is the same and this may well have been an acceptable rhyme according to the conventions of the day.

1. For cases where the stressed vowel is the same, see Alexiou in *Kr. Chron.* 13, 1959, 291, and where the stressed vowel is different *id.* in *Kr. Chron.* 17, 1963, 197.

7. PRINCIPLES OF THE EDITION

Since the text of Codex-Meteorensis 445 has been conclusively proved in Chapter 2 to be no more than a copy made from the first printed edition, the *editio princeps* alone has served as the basis of the present edition. The variant readings of the manuscript have no independent value so they have not been incorporated in the *apparatus criticus* except where they correct readings of the edition or otherwise present particular interest.

Later editions are likewise of little or no value for establishing the text, since all of them derive directly or indirectly from the *ed. princ.*[1] Where the *ed. princ.* is obscure or unintelligible, the conjectures of later editions may be taken into account; but no greater authority may be attributed to their conjectures than to those of the present-day editor, except insofar as they are closer to the language of the original in point of time. Indeed, the present-day editor frequently has more reliable evidence in his hands, on which to base his conjectures, in the form of all the various extant versions of the Alexander Romance in Greek (and other languages), and in particular the modern Greek prose version embodied in manuscript P.

Reverence to the *ed. princ.* has been observed wherever possible, in accordance with the method of Chatzidakis, which respects all phonetic variants, however slight, but brings spelling, orthography and punctuation into line current practice[2]. Corrections have been introduced only when sence, metre, rhyme or other serious considerations demand it. On questions of orthography the semi-official *Νεοελληνική Γραμματική (τῆς Δημοτικῆς)*, published in 1941 by a committee under the presidency of Manolis Triantafyllidis, has been followed almost universally in the present edition, although, regrettably, few contemporary writers of demotic accord it much attention. Only occasionally

1. The principle has been laid down by L. Politis in *Ell.* 14, 1955, 527 and *Kr. Chron.* 12, 1958, 305. J. Sykoutris, «Κριτικαὶ ἐκδόσεις νεοελληνικῶν λογοτεχνημάτων», *NE* 18, 1935, 990-1000, has also been consulted, though many of the problems discussed there do not concern older texts such as the present one.

2. The principle is stated as follows in *Ath.* 16, 1904, 254: «τὰ διαφόρως ἐκφωνούμενα καὶ ἀκουόμενα, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ τὰ διαφόρως ὁρώμενα εἶναι ἄξια σημειώσεως καὶ προσοχῆς».

has it been felt necessary to modify its rules: the *coronis* (') has been employed in crasis in words such as πὄστειλες, πὄσκότωσαν, πὄγραφε, πὄναι etc.; the orthography of καὶ when elided before vowels has been standardised as κ' before ε, αι, η, ι, οι, υ and ει, and κι before α, ο and ω. Phonetic variants such as αὐθέντης and ἀφέντης, εὔμορφος and ἔμορφος, φθάνω and φτάνω, have not, of course, been disturbed. In fact no attempt has been made to regularise or standardise the language of the poem, as this would run counter to the literary and stylistic character of the work and lead to absurd results. The only standardisation which has been imposed is purely orthographic.

The consonant-group τζ has been tacitly modernised to τσ in accordance with normal editorial practice e.g. ἔκατσα, ἔτσι, ματσούκι, δλιγούτσικος, τσακίζω, τσεκούρι etc. Variations of γγ and γκ have also been tacitly corrected. Word-division has been brought into line with the rules of the *Νεοελληνικὴ Γραμματικὴ* (p. 289) e.g. κ' ἐκεῖνος not καὶ κεῖνος, σ' ἐμᾶς not σὲ μᾶς, μ' ἐμένα not μὲ μένα etc. In the case of the augment, a statistical count of instances where there is no preceding [e] vowel has shown that it is present, even when unstressed, in a majority of cases. Accordingly the general practice has been to reconstitute it in groups such as: κ' ἐκτύπα, κ' ἐδιάβη, τότ' ἐφύγαν, τότ' ἐστεφανώθη etc.

The editorial practice with regard to accentuation also requires some comment: where two vowels occur together and one of them is accented, the usual practice of the early typographers was to print the accent on the first, irrespective of where the spoken stress would customarily fall. e.g. πίασου, μαγία, λαλία, κερίεκανε, ὀτίερχεται, μαλία του, ξοδίαζει, ἐδίαβη etc. (A rare exception is διὰ / γιὰ, where the ancient Greek accentuation is preserved). In the present edition the guiding principle has been metre: if synizesis is necessary for metrical reasons, then in such cases the accent is placed on the second vowel; if not, the first vowel bears the written accent e.g.

9 Καὶ ἤξευρε μὲ τὴν *μαγειὰ* ὅλα νὰ τὰ γρικήση,
but 44 κ' ἐκεῖ 'κανε τὴν τέχνη του, αὐτείνην τὴ, *μαγείαν*.
38 'Εβγῆκε 'κ τὸ παλάτι του κ' ἔκοψε τὰ *μαλλιά* του,
but 2084 μεγάλες ἦσαν σὰν γατιά, κ' εἶχασι καὶ *μαλλία*.

The apparatus criticus

In the *apparatus criticus* are recorded only those readings of the Codex (indicated by the letter C) which correct the 1529 edition or offer special interest. The readings of later printed editions are noted only when they shed light on or correct those of the first edition. Misprints are recorded for the first but not for later editions. The editions are cited by the year of their publication; «edd.» indicates a reading common to the editions of 1529, 1553, 1600 and 1603. Where no specific indication is given, the reading is that of the first edition.

ADDENDUM

In a forthcoming article entitled «Inquisitio patriarcalo sopra un Orologio greco, 1524-1527», to be published in the *Bolletino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata*, Mrs F. Ploumidi produces some new information about Dimitrios Zinos, which supplements and corrects what was written on pp. 43-9 above. The «inquisitio» concerns the addition of some anti-Catholic verses at the end of the *'Ωρολόγιον* of 1524 (see p. 44), for which Zinos was held primarily responsible. From the papers relating to the case we learn that Zinos was twenty-three or twenty-four years old in 1527. It thus appears that he was born in 1503 or 1504. I am most grateful to Mrs Ploumidi for generously making this information available to me.

ΠΕΡΙΛΗΨΗ ΤΗΣ ΕΙΣΑΓΩΓΗΣ

Κεφάλαιο 1. Τὸ Μυθιστόρημα τοῦ 'Αλεξάνδρου. 'Εξετάζονται οἱ διάφορες παραλλαγὲς τοῦ *Μυθιστορήματος τοῦ 'Αλεξάνδρου*. Τὸ *Μυθιστόρημα*, ποὺ ἐσφαλμένα ἀποδίδεται στὸν Καλλισθένη, ἔχει τὶς ρίζες του στὸν 3ο αἰώνα π.Χ., οἱ σωζόμενες ὅμως παραλλαγὲς μποροῦν νὰ ἀναχθοῦν μόνο σὲ ἕνα πρότυπο ποὺ χρονολογεῖται στὰ 300 μ.Χ. περίπου. Τὸ πρότυπο αὐτὸ (*α*) ἀντιπροσωπεύεται μόνο ἀπὸ ἕνα πλῆρες χειρόγραφο στὰ ἑλληνικὰ (*A*) καὶ ἀπὸ ἀρκετὲς μεταφράσεις στὰ λατινικά, ἀρμενικά, συριακὰ καὶ αἰθιοπικά. Οἱ μεταγενέστερες ἑλληνικὲς παραλλαγές, γνωστὲς γενικὰ μὲ τὰ γράμματα *β*, *γ*, *ε* καὶ *λ*, ἀποτελοῦν χονδρικὲς ἀναθεωρήσεις τοῦ κειμένου.

'Υπάρχουν ἀκόμη δύο ἔμμετρες διασκευὲς τοῦ *Μυθιστορήματος* στὰ ἑλληνικά, ποὺ καὶ οἱ δύο φαίνεται πὼς βασίζονται στὶς δύο παραδόσεις *α* καὶ *β*, ἂν καὶ εἶναι ἀνεξάρτητες μεταξύ τους. Αὐτὲς εἶναι: α) τὸ βυζαντινὸ ποίημα γιὰ τὸν 'Αλέξανδρο, καὶ β) ἡ νεοελληνικὴ ὁμοιοκατάληκτη διασκευή, ἡ *Ριμάδα*, αὐτὴ ποὺ ἐκδίδεται ἐδῶ.

Μιὰ ἄλλη ὁμάδα πεζῶν κειμένων μπορεῖ νὰ θεωρηθῆ ὡς πεζὸ μυθιστόρημα τῆς τελευταίας βυζαντινῆς ἐποχῆς. 'Η ἀρχική της μορφὴ πρέπει νὰ χρονολογηθῆ στὸ τέλος τοῦ 15ου ἢ στὶς ἀρχὲς τοῦ 16ου αἰώνα. Συγγενὴς μὲ τὴν ὁμάδα αὐτὴν εἶναι ἡ ὀνομαζόμενη «Φυλλάδα τοῦ Μεγαλέξαντρου», ποὺ τυπώθηκε πολλὲς φορὲς (πρώτη ἔκδοση γύρω στὰ 1680). Οἱ σχέσεις μεταξὺ ὅλων τῶν παραπάνω κειμένων ἀπεικονίζονται στὸ διάγραμμα τῆς σ. 11.

Κεφάλαιο 2. 'Η παράδοση τοῦ κειμένου. Τὸ κείμενο τῆς *Ριμάδας* σώζεται σ' ἕνα μοναδικὸ χειρόγραφο καὶ σὲ μιὰ σειρὰ ἀπὸ 14 βενετικὲς ἐκδόσεις. 'Η σύγκριση τοῦ χειρογράφου μὲ τὴν *editio princeps* (τοῦ 1529) φανερώνει ὅτι οἱ διαφορὲς περιορίζονται σὲ σημεῖα ἐπουσιώδη, γλωσσικὰ κυρίως. 'Αρκετὰ σημεῖα ὅπου καὶ οἱ δύο παρουσιάζουν λάθη, καὶ ποὺ εἶναι ἀσφαλῶς τυπογραφικά, δείχνουν πὼς τὸ χειρόγραφο εἶναι ἀσφαλῶς ἀντίγραφο ἀπὸ μιὰ ἔντυπη ἔκδοση, καὶ μάλιστα τὴν πρώτη, ἐπειδὴ πολλὰ ἀπὸ τὰ λάθη αὐτὰ παραλείπονται στὶς ὑστερώτερες. Τὸ χειρόγραφο ἑπομένως εἶναι χωρὶς ἀξία γιὰ τὴν ἀποκατάσταση τοῦ κειμένου τοῦ ποιήματος.

Οἱ ἔντυπες ἐκδόσεις παρουσιάζουν μιὰ βαθμιαία χειροτέρευση τοῦ κειμένου, ποὺ ὀφείλεται κυρίως στὸν πολλαπλασιασμὸ τῶν τυπογραφικῶν λαθῶν. Παράλληλα ὅμως εἶναι φανερὸ ὅτι ἔχει ἐπιχειρηθῆ καὶ μιὰ ἠθελημένη γλωσσικὴ «βελτίωση» τοῦ κειμένου. 'Επειδὴ ὅμως κάθε ἔκδοση βασίζεται στὴν ἀμέσως προηγούμενη, μόνο ἡ πρώτη πρέπει νὰ ληφθῆ ὑπόψη σὲ κάθε προσπάθεια γιὰ τὴν ἀποκατάσταση τοῦ κειμένου.

Κεφάλαιο 3. Οἱ πηγές. Ἐξετάζεται τὸ ζήτημα μὲ ποιὰ ἢ μὲ ποιὲς παραλλαγὲς τοῦ *Μυθιστορήματος* σχετίζεται ἡ *Ριμάδα*. Πηγή της στάθηκε ἕνα ἑλληνικὸ χειρόγραφο τοῦ Ψευδοκαλλισθένη πού, καθὼς φαίνεται, δὲν ἔχει σωθῆ. Ὡς τώρα πίστευαν πὼς ἡ *Ριμάδα* σχετίζεται στενώτερα μὲ τὴν παραλλαγὴ *β* τοῦ *Μυθιστορήματος*, ἐκτὸς ἀπὸ τὸ τελευταῖο τμῆμα, ποὺ νόμιζαν πὼς ἀκολουθοῦσε τὸ κείμενο τῆς παραλλαγῆς *α*. Ὑπάρχουν πραγματικὰ πολλὰ σημεῖα ὅπου τὸ κείμενο τῆς *Ριμάδας* (ἀντίθετα πρὸς τὸ *A*) συμφωνεῖ μὲ τὴν παραλλαγὴ *β*, ἀλλὰ τοῦτο τὶς περισσότερες φορὲς ὀφείλεται μονάχα στὴν κακὴ κατάσταση τοῦ κειμένου *A*. Ἄλλοι μάρτυρες τῆς παραλλαγῆς *α* (π.χ. οἱ λατινικὲς μεταφράσεις) συμφωνοῦν μὲ τὴ *Ριμάδα*, ἀντίθετα πρὸς τὴν παραλλαγὴ *β*. Ἐξάλλου πολλὰ σημεῖα τῆς *Ριμάδας* εἶναι κοινὰ μὲ τὴν παραλλαγὴ *A* καθὼς καὶ μὲ ἄλλους μάρτυρες τῆς παραλλαγῆς *α*. Δοκιμαστικὴ ἀνάλυση μὲ βάση ἕνα μεμονωμένο ἐπεισόδιο ἔδειξε ἐπίσης περισσότερες ὁμοιότητες μὲ τὴν παραλλαγὴ *A* παρὰ μὲ τὴν *β*. (Βλ. τοὺς πίνακες, σ. 28-29, καὶ τὸ στέμμα, σ. 33).

Ἔτσι ἐξάγεται τὸ συμπέρασμα πὼς ἡ πηγὴ τῆς *Ριμάδας* ἦταν μιὰ παραλλαγὴ τοῦ Ψευδοκαλλισθένη, ἐνδιάμεση μεταξὺ *α* καὶ *β*, πλησιέστερη ὅμως πρὸς τὴν πρώτη. Τὸ ἄμεσο πρότυπο τῆς *Ριμάδας* ἦταν μιὰ μετάφραση τῆς παραλλαγῆς αὐτῆς στὴν καθομιλουμένη, ποὺ τὴν ἀκολούθησε ἐν μέρει ὁ ἀντιγραφέας τοῦ χειρογράφου Misc. Gr. 283 (P) τῆς Βοδληιανῆς Βιβλιοθήκης, τοῦ ὁποίου τὸ κείμενο παρουσιάζει πολλὲς χτυπητὲς λεκτικὲς ὁμοιότητες μὲ τὴ *Ριμάδα*. Ἀπὸ τὴν ἄλλη μεριά, οἱ ὁμοιότητες μεταξὺ τῆς *Ριμάδας* καὶ τῆς *Φυλλάδας* (πίνακας σ. 38-39) ὀφείλονται ὄχι στὴ χρησιμοποίηση κοινῆς πηγῆς, ἀλλὰ στὸν ἀπευθείας δανεισμὸ ἀπὸ τὸ ἔμμετρο κείμενο κατὰ τὴ διάρκεια τῆς διάδοσης τῆς *Φυλλάδας*.

Κεφάλαιο 4. Ὁ ποιητὴς τῆς Ριμάδας *καὶ τὰ σχετικὰ μὲ τὴν πρώτη της ἔκδοση.* Οἱ πρῶτοι μελετητές, στηριζόμενοι στοὺς στίχους τοῦ Ἐπιλόγου, κατέληξαν στὸ συμπέρασμα ὅτι συγγραφέας τῆς *Ριμάδας* ἦταν ὁ Δημήτριος Ζῆνος ἀπὸ τὴ Ζάκυνθο. Ἀπὸ τὴ σύγκριση ὡστόσο τοῦ σχετικοῦ χωρίου μὲ τοὺς ἐπιλόγους (ἢ κολοφῶνες) ἄλλων σύγχρονων ἐντύπων, φαίνεται καθαρὰ ὅτι ὁ Ζῆνος ἦταν μόνο ὁ ἐκδότης. Τὸ συμπέρασμα αὐτὸ ἐνισχύεται καὶ ἀπὸ τὶς διαφορὲς τοῦ ὕφους ἀνάμεσα στὴ *Ριμάδα* καὶ στὴ μετάφραση τῆς *Βατραχομυομαχίας*, ποὺ συγγραφέας της εἶναι ὁ Ζῆνος ὁ ἴδιος.

Γιὰ τὴ ζωὴ τοῦ Ζήνου λίγα μόνο εἶναι γνωστά, ἐκτὸς ἀπὸ τὸ ὅτι καταγόταν ἀπὸ τὴ Ζάκυνθο καὶ ἦταν ἴσως συγγενὴς τοῦ Ἀλέξανδρου Ζήνου, καθηγητῆ τῶν ἑλληνικῶν γραμμάτων στὸ Πανεπιστήμιο τῆς Πάντοβας. Τὸν Δημήτριο Ζῆνο τὸν συναντοῦμε γιὰ πρώτη φορὰ τὸ 1524, ὅταν ἐδημοσίευσε τὴν πρώτη ἔκδοση τοῦ *Πένθους θανάτου*. Ἀκολούθησαν πολλὲς ἄλλες ἐκδόσεις ἐκκλησιαστικῶν καὶ νεοελληνικῶν βιβλίων, στὶς ὁποῖες ὁ Ζῆνος συμβάλλει εἴτε ὡς ἐκδότης - διορθωτὴς εἴτε ὡς οἰκονομικὸς ὑποστηρικτής. Ὅλες αὐτὲς οἱ ἐκδόσεις τυπώθηκαν στὸ τυπογραφεῖο τῶν da Sabbio.

Ὁ Ζῆνος εἶναι γνωστὸς ἐπίσης καὶ ὡς ἀντιγραφέας χειρογράφων. Ἕνα ἀπὸ τὰ χειρόγραφά του σώζεται στὸ Ἐσκοριάλ, καὶ δύο ἄλλα στὴ Βοδληιανὴ Βιβλιοθήκη. Τὸ 1540 τὸν βρίσκουμε στὴ Γαλλία, ὅπου προμηθεύει ἑλληνικὰ χειρόγραφα στὸν βιβλιοθηκάριο τοῦ Φραγκίσκου Α΄, τὰ ὁποῖα εἶχε συλλέξει ὁ ἴδιος στὴν Κέρκυρα καὶ στὶς γειτονικὲς περιοχές. Ὅσο γιὰ τὴ *Ριμάδα*, φαίνεται πὼς ἡ συμβολὴ τοῦ Ζήνου περιορίστηκε σὲ μικρὲς μόνο βελτιώσεις ἢ διορθώσεις, γιατὶ ἡ ἔλλειψη ἐπιμέλειας ποὺ παρουσιάζει τὸ ἔργο πρέπει νὰ ἀποδοθῆ στὸν στιχουργὸ καὶ ὄχι στὸν Ζῆνο.

Μιὰ ὑπόθεση ποὺ διατυπώθηκε σχετικὰ μὲ τὸ πρόσωπο τοῦ στιχουργοῦ εἶναι πὼς αὐτὸς εἶναι ὁ Ζακυθηνὸς ἐπίσης Μάρκος Δεφαράνας. Τὸ ὕφος ὅμως τῶν ἔργων τοῦ τελευταίου, ποὺ σὲ σύγκριση μὲ τὴ *Ριμάδα* εἶναι πολὺ πιὸ σύνθετο, καθιστᾶ τὴν ὑπόθεση αὐτὴ πολὺ ἀπίθανη. Ἔτσι ὁ συγγραφέας τῆς *Ριμάδας* παραμένει ἄγνωστος. Ἀπὸ τὸ ἔργο του φαίνεται ἄνθρωπος χωρὶς μεγάλη μόρφωση, μὲ κάποια εὐκολία στιχουργική, ποὺ τοῦ ἔλειπε ὅμως ἡ πρωτοτυπία.

Ὡς πρὸς τὴ χρονολογία τῆς σύνθεσης τῆς *Ριμάδας*, τὸ πιθανότερο εἶναι τὰ χρόνια ἀνάμεσα στὰ 1490 καὶ στὰ 1520. Ἡ πρωτοβουλία γιὰ τὴ δημοσίευση φαίνεται ὅτι προῆλθε ἀπὸ τὸν Damiano di Santa Maria, ποὺ τὸ ὄνομά του ἀναφέρεται στὸν κολοφώνα καὶ τῆς *Ριμάδας* καὶ διαφόρων ἄλλων ἑλληνικῶν ἔργων τῆς ἐποχῆς αὐτῆς. Στὸν Ζῆνο εἶχε ἀνατεθῆ νὰ βρῆ ἕνα χειρόγραφο αὐτόγραφο τοῦ συγγραφέα, ἐπειδὴ ὅμως τὸ χειρόγραφο αὐτὸ δὲν ἔφτασε ποτὲ στὰ χέρια του, ἀναγκάστηκε νὰ στηριχτῆ γιὰ τὴν ἔκδοση στὸ μόνο προσιτὸ χειρόγραφο, ποὺ ἦταν ὅμως, ὅπως γράφει, «σφαλτὸ καὶ ἀδιόρθωτο καὶ κακογεγραμμένο». Ἡ συμβολὴ τοῦ Ζήνου φαίνεται πὼς στάθηκε πολὺ μικρή, γιατὶ ἀκόμα καὶ οἱ ἐπικεφαλίδες καὶ οἱ παροιμίες ποὺ παρεμβάλλονται στὸ τυπωμένο κείμενο ὀφείλονται κατὰ πᾶσα πιθανότητα στὸν ἀνώνυμο στιχουργό.

Οἱ δεκατέσσερεις ξυλογραφίες ποὺ κοσμοῦν τὴν πρώτη ἔκδοση δὲν εἶναι πρωτότυπες, ἀλλὰ προέρχονται ἀπὸ ἕνα ἄλλο ἔντυπο, τὴν *Ἰλιάδα* τοῦ Λουκάνη, ἐκτὸς μόνο ἀπὸ μιὰ ποὺ παριστάνει τὸν Ἀλέξανδρο νὰ καβαλικεύη τὸν Βουκέφαλο. Ἡ *Ἰλιάδα* ἐκδόθηκε τὸ 1526 ἀπὸ τὸ ἴδιο τυπογραφεῖο τῶν da Sabbio, μὲ τὴ φροντίδα τοῦ Damiano di Santa Maria, ὁ ὁποῖος καὶ παράγγειλε ἀρχικὰ τὶς ξυλογραφίες γιὰ τὴν ἔκδοση αὐτὴ (βλ. Πίν. III-V) καὶ ὁ ἴδιος πιθανότατα διάλεξε ἐκεῖνες ποὺ χρησιμοποιήθηκαν στὴ *Ριμάδα*.

Κεφάλαιο 5. Ἡ Ριμάδα *ἀπὸ ἄποψη λογοτεχνική.* Εἶναι δύσκολο νὰ γίνη λόγος γιὰ «ὕφος», ὅταν πρόκειται γιὰ διασκευὴ ἑνὸς πεζοῦ κειμένου σὲ στίχους, ὅπως συμβαίνει στὴν περίπτωση τῆς *Ριμάδας*. Φαίνεται πὼς τὸ ἔργο διασκευάζει μὲ πολλὴ εὐκολία καὶ ἀρκετὰ πιστὰ τὸ πρότυπο, ἂν καὶ συχνὰ ἡ ἔννοια θυσιάζεται γιὰ χάρη τοῦ μέτρου καὶ τῆς ρίμας. Ὅτι τὸ μέτρο ἀπασχόλησε πολὺ τὸν στιχουργό, φαίνεται ἀπὸ τὴ συχνὴ χρήση ὁρισμένων ἐπιρρηματικῶν ἐκφράσεων μόνο γιὰ παραγέμισμα τοῦ στίχου. Τοῦτο ἀποτελεῖ κατάλοιπο τῆς προφο-

ρικῆς τεχνικῆς, πού πιστοποιεῖται ἐπίσης καὶ μὲ τὴ χρήση ὁρισμένων στερεότυπων ἐκφράσεων. Ἕνα ἄλλο μετρικὸ τέχνασμα πού χρησιμοποιεῖται ἀπὸ τὸν στιχουργὸ εἶναι οἱ πολλοὶ τύποι κυρίων ὀνομάτων — φαινόμενο πού μπορεῖ νὰ παρατηρηθῆ σὲ ὅλη τὴν ἔκταση τῆς ἱστορίας τῆς ἑλληνικῆς ποίησης.

Στὴ διήγηση λίγα ἔχει συνεισφέρει ὁ στιχουργός. Κάπου κάπου παρεμβάλλονται ἠθικὲς παρατηρήσεις πάνω σὲ θέματα ὅπως ἡ ἁμαρτία, ὁ θάνατος, ἡ ἀνυησία καὶ ἡ μοίρα, οἱ ὁποῖες ἀσφαλῶς ὀφείλονται στὸν ἴδιο τὸν στιχουργό. Τὸ ὕφος τοῦ ἔργου πλατειάζει καὶ εἶναι πεζολογικό.

Στὸ στιχούργημα παρατηροῦμε ὁρισμένες ἀπηχήσεις ἀπὸ τὴν *Κοσμογέννηση* (τὸ ποίημα γιὰ τὴ *Γένεση* καὶ τὴν *Ἔξοδο*) τοῦ Γεωργίου Χούμνου, πού δείχνει ὅτι τοῦτο δὲν ἦταν ἴσως ἄγνωστο στὸν ποιητὴ τῆς *Ριμάδας*. Γλωσσικὲς ὁμοιότητες παρατηροῦνται ἐπίσης καὶ μὲ ἄλλα ἔργα τῆς μεσαιωνικῆς ἑλληνικῆς λογοτεχνίας· τοῦτο ὅμως δὲν ἀποτελεῖ παρὰ τυχαία σύμπτωση.

Κεφάλαιο 6. Γλώσσα καὶ στιχουργία. Ἐξετάζονται μερικὰ ἀπὸ τὰ ἰδιαίτερα φωνολογικά, μορφολογικὰ καὶ συντακτικὰ χαρακτηριστικὰ τῆς γλώσσας τοῦ ποιήματος. Ἐξετάζονται ἐπίσης μερικὰ ἄλλα χαρακτηριστικὰ στοιχεῖα τῆς γλώσσας, ὅπως ἡ συχνὴ χρήση ἀρχαϊκῶν στοιχείων, οἱ «βαρβαρισμοὶ» (πού προέρχονται ἀπὸ τὴν ἐπιθυμία ἀρχαϊσμοῦ καὶ ὀφείλονται σὲ ἀνεπαρκῆ γνώση τῆς ἀρχαίας γλώσσας), στοιχεῖα διαλεκτικὰ καὶ δάνειες λέξεις. Στὸ ἴδιο κεφάλαιο ἐξετάζεται ἡ τεχνικὴ τῆς στιχουργίας, πού γενικὰ εἶναι ἀβίαστη, μπορεῖ ὅμως κανεὶς νὰ σημειώση μερικοὺς ἀτελεῖς στίχους. Οἱ δεκαπεντασύλλαβοι στίχοι, στοὺς ὁποίους ἔχει γραφτῆ τὸ ἔργο, ἔχουν ζευγαρωτὴ ὁμοιοκαταληξία. Οἱ ὄχι ἐπιτυχημένες ὁμοιοκαταληξίες εἶναι συγκριτικὰ λίγες, ἂν λάβη κανεὶς ὑπόψη του τὴν ἔκταση τοῦ ποιήματος.

Κεφάλαιο 7. Ἡ ἔκδοση τοῦ κειμένου. Ἡ ἔκδοση βασίζεται ἀποκλειστικὰ στὴν *editio princeps* τῆς Βενετίας, ἀφοῦ, ὅπως ἀποδείχτηκε, τὸ μόνο χειρόγραφο πού μᾶς ἔχει σωθῆ εἶναι ἁπλὸ ἀντίγραφο ἀπὸ τὴν ἔκδοση. Οἱ ὑστερώτερες ἐκδόσεις βασίζονται οὐσιαστικὰ στὴν πρώτη, καὶ γι' αὐτὸ λίγη ἀξία ἔχουν γιὰ τὴν ἀποκατάσταση τοῦ κειμένου.

Δὲν ἔγινε καμιὰ ἀπολύτως μεταβολὴ στὴ φθογγολογία, ἐνῶ ἡ ὀρθογραφία καὶ ἡ στίξη προσαρμόστηκαν στοὺς κανόνες τῆς «Νεοελληνικῆς Γραμματικῆς (τῆς Δημοτικῆς)».

PART TWO

THE TEXT

ΓΕΝΝΗΣΙΣ, ΚΑΤΟΡΘΩΜΑΤΑ ΚΑΙ ΘΑΝΑΤΟΣ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΟΣ ΔΙΑ ΣΤΙΧΟΥ

Σοφία τῶν Αἰγύπτιων ἦτον πολλὰ περίσσα,
τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀρίθμησαν καὶ τ' ἄστρα του μετρῆσα.
Ἐμέτρησαν καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν τὰ βάθη τῆς θαλάσσου,
ἔδειξαν καὶ τὴν τέχνην τους νὰ σώσουν νὰ τὴν πιάσου.
Τὴν τέχνην τους ἀφήκασι στὴν γῆν ἐξαπλωμένη,
νὰ τὴν ἠξεύρουν ὅλοι τους, νά 'ναι διαρμηνεμένοι.
Ἔλεγε γὰρ Ἐκτεναβὸς τὴν Αἴγυπτ' ἀφεντεύει
(αὐτεῖνος ἦτον ὕστερος ὁποὺ τὴν κυριεύει),
καὶ ἤξευρε μὲ τὴν μαγειὰ ὅλα νὰ τὰ γρικήσῃ·
ἀφέντης δὲν ηὑρίσκετον μ' αὐτὸν νὰ πολεμήσῃ.
Ποτέ του δὲν ἐξέβαινε σὲ πόλεμον, ⟨'ς⟩ στρατεία,
μὰ κάθετον στὸ σπίτι του κ' ἔκανε τὴν μαντεία.
Ἀνθρώπους ἐργαζέτονε κέρινους γιὰ νὰ κάνῃ,
ἔπειτα τοὺς ἀπόθιζε μέσα εἰς τὴν λεκάνη·
καὶ ἄρχιζε μὲ τὴν σπουδὴν τοὺς δαίμονας νὰ κράζῃ,
καὶ τὸ κερὶ ἔκανε λαλιὰ στὰ θέλει νὰ 'ρδινιάζῃ.
Καράβια, κάτεργα μικρά, μὲ τὸ κερὶ ὅλα κάνει,
κι ἀπέκει τὰ ἀπόθιζε μέσα εἰς τὴν λεκάνη.
Ὕστερα ἔπιανε ραβδὶ κ' ἐκτύπα κ' ἐχαλοῦσαν,
καὶ τῶν ἐχθρῶν τὰ κάτεργα ὅλα τους ἐβουλοῦσαν.
Καὶ ἦλθεν ἕνας στρατηγὸς σ' αὐτὸν τὸν βασιλέα,
λέγει του· «Μὴν ἀκαρτερῇς ὅτι ἔχομε μαλέα.
Ἄφες τοὺς περιδιαβασμούς, γρίκα γιὰ τὸ φουσάτο,
νὰ μὴ μᾶς βάλουν ἐδεπὰ ὅλους ἀπάνω κάτω·
καὶ κατεβαίνουν εἰς ἐμᾶς Μῆδοι καὶ Ξηδαρκίτες,
πολλοὶ ἐξ αὔτους βρίσκονται πού 'ναι 'κ τοὺς Ἀραβίτες·
Βηθαϊσδά, οἱ Κάχονες, οἱ ἅπαντες Ἀχαῖοι,
καὶ ἔρχουνται ἀπάνου μας αὐτεῖν' οἱ Χαναναῖοι.»
Γρικώντας ὁ Ἐκτεναβὸς ἐγέλασε κ' ἐχάρη,

Post 6 (6a). Περὶ τὸ πῶς ἀφέντευεν ὁ Ἐκτεναβὸς τὴν Αἴγυπτον (titulus) || 11 ἐξέβαινε 1529 et C; ἐξέβανε 1553 et recentiores || ⟨'ς⟩ supplevi || Post 20 Γνωμικὸν (20 a-b) Γνώση νά 'ναι μαθημένη - τὴν ἀνδρείαν ὑπερβαίνει. Postea: 20c Περὶ ὅταν ἦλθεν ὁ στρατηγὸς εἰς τὸν βασιλέα (titulus) || 22 τίεχομε 1553 et recentiores || 28 αὐτεῖν' οἱ: αὐτίνοι

καὶ εἶπε τοῦ στρατιώτη του· «Καὶ τίς ἐμὲ νὰ πάρῃ;
Καὶ χίλια πρόβατα λοιπὸν ὁ λύκος νὰ ξαφνίσῃ,
δύνεται μὲ τὰ δόντια του ὅλα νὰ τὰ ξεσκίσῃ.»
Καὶ εἶπε του· «Πρὸς τὸ παρὸν ὕπαγε, ἀναπάψου,
καὶ μ' ἕνα λόγον τὸ λοιπὸν ὅλοι τους γιὰ νὰ πάψου.»
'Εγρίκησε ὁ βασιλεὺς ὅτι ἔρχεται στρατεία,
ἐσέβη στὸ παλάτι του κ' ἔκανε τὴν μαντεία·
κ' ἐγρίκησε ὀκ τὴν μαντειὰ χάνει τὴν βασιλειά του·
ἐβγῆκε 'κ τὸ παλάτι του κ' ἔκοψε τὰ μαλλιά του,
τὰ γένια του ἐξούρισε, τὴν φορεσά τ' ἀλλάζει,
καὶ βάνει κ' εἰς τὸν κόρφον του στάμενα νὰ ξοδιάζῃ.
"Εφυγεν ὀκ τὴν Αἴγυπτον κ' ὑπάγει σ' ἄλλη χώρα,
καὶ περπατεῖ ὁ ἐλενὸς ὅπου τὸν εὕρ' ἡ ὥρα.
Λοιπὸν τὸ τέλος ἔφθασε εἰς τὴν Μακεδονίαν,
κ' ἐκεῖ 'κανε τὴν τέχνη του, αὐτείνην τὴν μαγείαν.
Καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς παρακαλοῦν σ' Αἴγυπτον νὰ γυρίσῃ
ἀφέντης τους ὁ Κτεναβός, αὐτὸς νὰ τοὺς ὁρίσῃ.
'Απιλογήθησαν θεοί, ἔρχεται βασιλεία
γιὰ νὰ χαλάσῃ τοὺς ἐχθρούς, αὐτείνη τὴν Περσία.
Γύπτιοι διαλογίζονταν 'Εκτεναβὸς τί ἐγίνη,
ἐκάμασίν του πιστολὴ γιὰ νὰ τοῦ πέψουν κεῖνοι.
'Εγράψαν καὶ τὰ λόγια τους καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς ν' ἀκούσῃ,
τ' ἀφέντη τους τοῦ Κτεναβοῦ, ὀπίσω νὰ γυρίσῃ.
'Ο Κτεναβὸς ἐγένετον εἰς τὴν Μακεδονίαν,
περίφουμος ἠκούστηκε 'κ τὴν τέχνη, τὴν μαγείαν.
Γυναίκα ἡ βασίλισσα Φιλίππου, Λυμπιάδα,
ἤκουε τοῦ 'Εκτεναβοῦ κ' εἶχε τὴ νοστιμάδα.
'Ωσὰν ἐδιάβη Φίλιππος ἔξω νὰ πολεμήσῃ,
'Ολυμπιάδα γύρεψε γιὰ νὰ τὸν ἐρωτήσῃ.
Σὰν ἦλθε, τὸν ἐρώτησε· «'Εσύ 'σ' ὁ μαθημένος,
τὴν τέχνην ὅλην τῆς μαγειᾶς εἶσαι διαρμηνεμένος;»
'Απιλογήθη Κτεναβός· «Ξεύρω κι ὀρθομαντεία,
κι ἂν θέλῃς γιὰ νὰ μαντευθῇς εἰπέ μου τὴν αἰτία.»

Post 34 Γνωμικὸν (34a-d) Πὄχει τὴν περηφανεία - φέρνει τὸν εἰσὲ πενία, - καὶ ὁ κόσμος τὸν γελάει - ὅπου περπατεῖ καὶ πάει. || 40 καὶ εἰς edd. κεὶς C ||Post 42 Γνωμικὸν (42a-d) Πρέπει δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως - νὰ πορεύεται ἀλλέως, - ν' ἀποθαίνῃ στὴν τιμή του - κ' εἰς τὴν δόξα τὴ δική του. || Post 54 Γνωμικὸν (54a-d) Καὶ οἱ παῖδες βασιλέων, - πρώην λέγω τῶν παλαιῶν, - τέχνες ἤξευραν νὰ ζοῦνε, - στὴν ἀνάγκη νὰ τιμοῦνται. || 54c ζοῦνται 1600, 1603 etc.

"Εδειξε κι ὀκ τὸν κόρφο του δίσκο κ' εἶχε φεγγάρι
καὶ ἕξι ἄστρα τ' οὐρανοῦ ὁπού 'χασιν τὴ χάρη.
'Ως εἶδεν ἡ 'Ολυμπιὰς καὶ τ' ἄστρα νὰ μετρήσῃ,
ὅλους ἔξω τοὺς ἔβγαλε γιὰ νὰ τὸν ἐρωτήσῃ.
Εἶπε του ἡ 'Ολυμπιάς· «Θέλει γιὰ νὰ μ' ἀφήσῃ
ὁ ἄνδρας μου ὁ Φίλιππος, καὶ δές μου ἂν τὸ ποίσῃ.»
Κι αὐτεῖνος τὴν ἀνερωτᾷ γιὰ τὴν γενιὰν τ' ἀνδρός της,
ἐκεῖνο ποὺ τὸν ὅρισε γιὰ νὰ τὸ κάμῃ ὀμπρός της.
Καὶ τότε ἐξηγήθηκε γι' αὐτὰ τὰ ἐδικά του,
ἐκ τὴν ἀρχὴ λογάριασε ὅλα τὰ γονικά του.
'Απιλογήθη κ' εἶπε της· «Βρίσκω εἰς τὴν μαγειά μου,
ἀφήνει σε ὁ ἄνδρας σου, ὡς λέγουν τὰ χαρτιά μου.
'Αλήθεια λέγεις τὸ λοιπόν, θέλει γιὰ νὰ σ' ἀφήσῃ·
δύνομαι μὲ τὴν τέχνη μου αὐτὸ νὰ μὴν τὸ ποίσῃ.
Καὶ ἂν θελήσῃ Φίλιππος αὐτεῖνος νὰ σ' ἀφήσῃ,
ἔχεις μεγάλον ἄνθρωπον γιὰ νὰ σὲ ξεκδικήσῃ.»
Εἶπε του ἡ 'Ολυμπιάς· «Καὶ πῶς τοῦτο νὰ γένῃ,
ὁποὺ δὲν ἔχω δῶ τινὰν οὐδὲ κανένα γένει;»
Κ' εἶπε της ὁ 'Εκτεναβός· «Θέλει σοῦ βοηθήσει
ἕνας θεὸς ἐπίγειος, μ' ἐσὲν παιδὶ νὰ ποίσῃ·
νὰ θρέψῃς κεῖνο τὸ παιδί, κ' ἐκεῖνο θέλει ποίσει
ὅ,τι σοῦ κάμνει ἄνδρας σου γιὰ νὰ τὸ ξεκδικήσῃ.»
Εἶπε της πάλι ὁ Κτεναβός· «"Εναι θεὸς κ' εἰς τ' ἄλλα,
ἀντίπερα στὴν Βαρβαριὰ μὲ κέρατα μεγάλα.
Θὲς τὸν ἰδεῖ στὸν ὕπνον σου νὰ ἔλθῃ εἰς ἐσένα,
κι αὐτεῖνος ἔναι ἀφορμὴ γιὰ τοῦ παιδιοῦ τὴν γέννα.»
Καὶ εἶπε του ἡ 'Ολυμπιάς· «"Α λέγῃς τὴν ἀλήθεια,
εἰς τ' ὄνειρο τὸ θέλω δεῖ ἂν ἔχ' αὐτὸ βοήθεια.»
'Εβγῆκε ὁ Νεκτεναβὸς καὶ τὴν μαγειά του κάνει,
κ' ἐγύρευσε παράμερα καὶ βρίσκει τὸ βοτάνι·
πιάνει καὶ κοπανίζει το καὶ τὸ ζουμί του βγάνει,
ἀνασκυρίζει το καλά, παράμερα τὸ βάνει.
Γυναίκα ἐκατόρθωσε μὲ τὸ κερὶ πλασμένη,
'Ολυμπιάδος τ' ὄνομα ἔγραψε στὴν κερένη.
'Απῆτις τὴν ἐξέφλησε ἀνάφτει τὸ λυχνάρι,
κ' ἔβανε ἀπὸ τὸ ζουμὶ τοῦ λύχνου νά 'χῃ χάρη.
"Εκαμ' αὐτείνη τὴ μαγειά, θεούς του κεῖνος κράζει,

63 φαγγάρη corr. || 91 κάμνει corr.

ἐκεῖνο πού 'θελεν αὐτός, γιὰ νὰ τοῦ τ' ὁρδινιάζῃ.
Ὄνειρό 'δεν στὸν ὕπνον της, κ' ἦλθε θεὸς Ἀμμῶνος,
εἰς τὸ παλάτι σέβηκε κ' ἐκεῖνος ἦτον μόνος·
εἶδε καὶ τὴν ἀγκάλιασε, αὔτη γὴ 'Ολυμπιάδα,
θεράπειαν παίρνει ἐξ αὐτόν, περίσσια νοστιμάδα.
Εἶδε πῶς τὴν ἐπλάκωσε ἀπάνω σὲ κλινάρι,
κ' εἶπε· «Ἡ μήτρα σου παιδὶ νὰ λάβῃ καὶ νὰ πάρῃ.»
Ἐξύπνησε ἡ Ὀλυμπιάς, Ἐκτεναβῶνα κράζει,
λέγει· «Νὰ ξεύρῃς ὁ θεὸς ἦλθε καὶ μοῦ φαντάζει·
εἶδα τὸ ὄνειρο λοιπόν, καὶ τὸν θεὸν ἐκεῖνο,
κι ὀρέγομαί τον δυνατά, μὲ δαῦτον θὲ νὰ μείνω.»
Λέγει της ὁ Νεκτεναβός· «Σὰν τί πράμα τὸν εἶδες;»
«Σὰν τράγον μεγαλόκερον ὁπὄναι μὲ τὲς γίδες·
καὶ ἔχει καὶ τὰ κέρατα ἀπάνω στὴν κεφάλη·
καὶ κάμε μὲ τὴν τέχνη σου στὸ σπίτι νά 'λθῃ πάλι.»
Αὐτὸς ἀπιλογήθηκε· «Θὲ νά 'χῃς θεραπεία,
κάμε βραδὺ στὸ σπίτι σου νά 'χω μεγάλη ἄδεία,
διὰ νὰ κάμω συντροφιά, θεοῦ γὰρ τοῦ Ἀμμῶνος,
γιὰ νά 'ρχεται στὸ σπίτι σου νύκτα αὐτεῖνος μόνος.»
Κι αὐτὴ τ' ἀπιλογήθηκε· «Ἄμε νά 'χῃς ἀδεία,
μόνε αὐτεῖνον τὸν θεὸν νὰ ἔχω συντροφία.»
Εἶπε της ὁ Νεκτεναβός· «Βράδυ τὸν θέλω φέρει,
γιὰ νά 'ναι στὴν ἀγκάλη σου, εἰς τὸ δικό σου χέρι.»
Ἐπῆρε ὁ Νεκτεναβὸς ἐξ αὔτην τὴν ἀδεία
γιὰ νὰ τῆς φέρῃ τὸν θεὸν τὴ νύκτα μὲ μαγεία.
Ἐπῆγε ὁ Νεκτεναβὸς γιὰ κέρατα μεγάλα,
ηὗρε καὶ τράγου ἔνδυμα, ἄσπρο ὡσὰν τὸ γάλα.
Καὶ ἔβαλε τὰ κέρατα ἀπάνω στὸ κεφάλι,
κ' ἐπῆγε εἰς τὸ σπίτι της ὁ μάγος κεῖνος πάλι.
Κ' ἐγίνηκε σὰν τὸν θεόν, κ' ἐδιάβη στὸ κλινάρι,
καὶ τότε τῆς ἐμίλησε· «Παιδὶ νὰ λάβῃς χάρη·
ἀρσενικό 'ναι τὸ παιδί,» λέγει, «κυρὰ γουμένη,
ὁρίσει θέλει βασιλειὰ κι ὅλη τὴν οἰκουμένη.»
Καὶ τότε ἐκατέβηκε ἐκ τὸ κρεβάτι κάτου

Post 100 (100a) Περὶ τὸ πῶς εἶδεν τὸ ὄνειρον ἡ Ὀλυμπιάδα (titulus) || 101 εἰς τὸν edd. || 109 ἐκεῖνον corr. || 110 τον: το corr. || Post 124 Γνωμικὸν (124a-d) Οἱ λωλοὶ εἰς τ' ὄνειρό τους - βλέπουσι τὸ ριζικό τους· - φαίνεταί τους τὶ πλουτίζουν, - θαρρετὰ κρατοῦν, ὀλπίζουν. Postea: (124e) Περὶ τὸ πῶς ἐνέμπαιξεν ὁ Νεκτεναβὸς τὴν Ὀλυμπιάδα (titulus)

κ' ἐδιάβη ὁ Νεκτεναβὸς ἐκεῖ στὴν κατοικιά του.
Σηκώνεται ἡ Ὀλυμπιάς, στὸν Κτεναβὸν κ' ὑπάει,
καὶ εἶπε του· «Μὲ τὸν θεὸν περίσσια θεραπάη·
καὶ κάμ' αὐτεῖνο τὸ λοιπὸν νά 'ρχεται πάσα βράδυ,
καὶ νά 'μαι πάντα μετ' αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ κρεβάτι ὁμάδι.»
Ἀπολογήθη Κτεναβός· «Δῶσ' μου ἄδειὰν τελείαν
διὰ νὰ φέρνω τὸν θεὸν μ' ἁγίαν ὁμιλίαν.»
Καὶ εἶπε του Ὀλυμπιάς· «Θὲς πάλι νὰ στὸ λέγω;
Τινὰν μὴν ἔχῃς ἔμποδον, εἰς τὸν Ἀμμῶν σοῦ μνέγω.»
Ἐπῆρε πᾶν τὸ θέλημα τότες ὀκ τὴν κυρά του
κ' ἤτονε πάντα μετ' αὐτὴν κ' ἐπέρνα τὴ δουλειά του.
Περνᾶ καμπόσος ὁ καιρὸς κ' ἐκείνη ἐγγαστρώθη,
καὶ τὸ παιδὶ ἐκ τὴν κοιλιὰ ἀρχίζει νὰ τὸ γνώθῃ.
Καὶ τότες ἡ Ὀλυμπιὰς τοῦ Κτεναβῶνος λέγει,
ἐβούρκωσαν τὰ μάτια της, αὐτὴ ὀμπρός του κλαίγει·
«Μήπως κ' ἔλθῃ ὁ ἄνδρας μου καὶ βρῇ με γγαστρωμένη,
καὶ τοῦτο ποὺ ἐγίνετο αὐτὸς δὲν τὸ πομένει.»
Κι ἀπιλογήθη Κτεναβός· «Ἄφησ' με νὰ 'ρδινιάσω,
καὶ τοῦ ἀνδρός σου τὸν θυμὸν ἐγὼ νὰ τόνε παύσω.»
Γεράκι πιάνει Κτεναβὸς καὶ κάμνει τὴ μαγειά του,
γιὰ νὰ τὸ δῇ ὁ Φίλιππος στὴν ὑπνοφαντασά του.
Φίλιππος εἶδεν ὄνειρον, κι αὐτὸς τὸ εἶδε μόνε,
Ὀλυμπιάδα ἔβλεπε μὲ τὸν θεὸν Ἀμμῶνε.
Καθάρια τό 'δε Φίλιππος, δὲν εἶχε τί νὰ ποίσῃ,
ὁποὺ τῆς εἶπε ὁ θεὸς καὶ νὰ μηδὲν ἀργήσῃ·
παιδὶ νὰ κάμῃ σερνικό, ὁπὄναι γγαστρωμένη,
κι ὁρίσει θέλει τὸ παιδὶ ὅλην τὴν οἰκουμένη.
Καὶ βουλωτήριν ἀργυρὸ βουλώνει τὴν κοιλιά της·
εἶπε της νὰ προσέχεται ὄμορφα τὴ δουλειά της.
Κι ἀποταχὺ σηκώνεται ὁ Φίλιππος νὰ ποίσῃ,
τινὰς ἀπὸ τοὺς μάγους του τὸ ὄνειρο νὰ λύσῃ.
Ἐκάλεσ' ἕναν ἐξ αὐτούς, περίσσια προκομμένο,
κ' εἶπε του τὴν ἀθιβολή, νὰ τό 'χῃ ξηγημένο.
Κι αὐτὸς ἀπιλογήθηκε· «Ἀλήθεια τ' ὄνειρό σου·
αὐτεῖνον πού 'δες σπίτι σου, ἔχε τον γιὰ θεό σου.
Ἔχει μεγάλα κέρατα ἀπάνω στὸ κεφάλι,

Post 152 (152a) Περὶ τὴν μαγείαν ὁποὺ ἔκανεν ὁ Νεκτεναβός, διὰ νὰ ἴδῃ ὁ Φίλιππος ὄνειρον (titulus) || 158 τῆς: τοὺς corr. || 163 καὶ || 167 ἀπηλογήηκε edd.

ἔχει καὶ τράγου ἔνδυμα μὲ μιὰ ποδιὰ μεγάλη,
καὶ εἶδε τὴν γυναίκα σου καὶ μ' αὔτην ἐσυγκλίθη.»
Κι ὡς τό 'κουσεν ὁ Φίλιππος, στὰ λόγια ἀπατήθη,
καὶ φεύγει τότε παρευθὺς μέσα ἐκ τοῦ φουσάτου,
κ' ἐδιάβηκε στὸ σπίτι του, μέσα στὴν κατοικιά του.
'Εκ' ηὗρε τὴν 'Ολυμπιά, πολλά 'τον λυπημένη,
κι αὐτεῖνος τὴν παρηγορᾷ νὰ μὴ ἔναι φοβισμένη·
«"Αμα θεοὶ τὸ θέλουσι δὲν ἔχω τί νὰ ποίσω·
αὐτεῖνοι γὰρ προβλέπουσι τὰ μπρὸς καὶ τὰ ὀπίσω.
Αὐτεῖνοι μᾶς ὁρίζουσι κ' ἔχουν τὴν ἐξουσιά μας.
Μὴ τὸ λυπᾶται τὸ λοιπὸν ἐτοῦτο ἡ καρδιά μας.»
'Ως τό 'κουσεν 'Ολυμπιὰς ὅλη ἐθεραπάη,
τὸ πῶς τῆς εἶπε Φίλιππος, σ' αὐτὴν θεὸς ὑπάει.
Σὲ μέρες ὀλιγούτσικες ἤθελε νὰ διατάξῃ
'Ολυμπιάδα Φίλιππος, καὶ νὰ τὴν ἐξετάξῃ.
'Ως τό 'κουσε Νεκτεναβὸς τότε μεταμορφώθη,
ἐγίνη δράκος φοβερός, στὴν μέση τους εὑρέθη,
ποὺ κάθετον ὁ Φίλιππος μ' ὅλη του τὴν ἀρμάδα·
εἶχαν ἐκεῖ στὴν μέση τους καὶ τὴν 'Ολυμπιάδα.
"Ηλθε ὡς δράκος φοβερὸς κ' ἐκεῖ κλωθογυρίζει,
ἐσέβην εἰς τὴν μέση τους καὶ δυνατὰ σουρίζει.
Κ' ἐδιέβη κι ἀγκαλιάσθηκε τότε τὴν 'Ολυμπιάδα,
ὁποὺ καθέτον Φίλιππος μ' ὅλη του τὴν ὁμάδα.
'Απῆτις τὴν ἐφίλησε ὁ δράκοντας ἐκείνη,
πάλι μεταμορφώθηκε κι ὡσὰν γεράκι γίνη·
καὶ ὅλοι δ' ἐφοβήθησαν, ἄρχοντες καὶ οἱ δοῦλοι,
καὶ πάλι ἐθαυμάσθησαν σ' ἐκεῖνο πού 'δαν οὗλοι.
'Απὸ τὸν φόβον Φίλιππος ἤτονε τρομασμένος,
ἐζάρωσε ὁ ταπεινὸς καὶ στέκει φοβισμένος.
'Απιλογήθη Φίλιππος μὲ τὴν πολλὴν τρομάραν·
«'Οργίσθησάν μου οἱ θεοὶ μ' ὅλη τους τὴν κατάραν.»
Καὶ εἶπε· «Τὴν 'Ολυμπιὰ ἀλήθεια βοηθοῦσι,
σ' αὐτείνη ἔρχονται θεοὶ πάντα καὶ δὲν ἀργοῦσι.»
'Εμήνησε τοῦ Φίλιππου τότε ἡ 'Ολυμπίας·
«Αὐτεῖνος ἔναι ὁ θεὸς πὄναι τῆς Βαρβαρίας.»

Post 182 Γνωμικὸν (182 a-b) 'Ο καλὸς λόγος στὴν βίαν - θεραπεύει τὴν καρδίαν. || Post 184 Γνωμικὸν (184 a-b) Πάντα τὸ κρυφὸ μακραίνει, - ἃ μὴ 'ς φανερὸν ἐβγαίνει. Postea: (184c) Περὶ τὴν μεταμόρφωσιν τοῦ 'Εκτεναβοῦ (titulus) || Post 202 Γνωμικὸν (202 a-b) Φόβος ἔναι ποὺ τρομάσσει—καὶ τὰ ἔρημα φυλάσσει.

'Ως τό 'κουσεν ὁ Φίλιππος πολλὰ γὰρ τὸ ἐχάρη,
ποὺ κάμνει κεῖνο τὸ παιδὶ μὲ τοῦ θεοῦ τὴ χάρη.
'Ημέρες περαζόμενες στὸν Φίλιππό 'ρθ' ὀρνίθι,
κ' εἰς τὴν ποδιά του γέννησε κ' ὕστερα καρκαρήθη.
Σηκώνοντας ὁ Φίλιππος, τ' αὐγὸ ἐκαταλύθη,
καὶ μέσα ἐκ τὸ φλούδι του μικρὸ φιδάκι ἐχύθη.
Γυρίζει τὸ φιδόπουλο κι ὀλόγυρα ὑπάει,
καὶ θέλει νά 'μπη εἰς τ' ἀβγὸ καὶ πάραυτα ψοφάει.
'Εθαύμασε ὁ Φίλιππος μ' ἐκεῖνο τὸ ὀρνίθι,
τὸ εἶδε μὲ τὰ μάτια του, περίσσια τὸ φοβήθη·
καὶ ἔκραξεν 'Αντίφωτον τὸν μάγον νὰ μαντέψῃ
τὸ τί 'τον τὸ φιδόπουλον εἰς τὸ αὐγὸ νὰ στρέψῃ.
Κι 'Αντίφωτος τὸ ἔκαμε τότε γιαμιὰ μαγεία,
γιὰ νὰ εἰπῇ τοῦ Φίλιππου καθάρια τὴν αἰτία.
Καὶ τότες τὸ καθάρισε κ' εἶπε· «Παιδὶ θὲς ποίσει·
αὐτὸ π' ἀκούεις τὸ παιδὶ τὸν κόσμον θέλει ὁρίσει.
Γυρίζοντα γιὰ νὰ στραφῇ, νά 'ρθη στὰ ἐδικά του,
θέλει ἀπεθάνει τὸ παιδὶ ἔξω 'κ τὰ γονικά του.»
"Ηλθεν ἡ ὥρα καὶ καιρὸς αὐτείνη νὰ γεννήσῃ,
αὐτεῖνο λέγω τὸ παιδί, ποὺ κόσμον θέλει ὁρίσει·
κι αὐτὴ ἐβιάσθη δυνατά, καὶ τὸ παιδὶ ἐχύθη,
τότε φωνὴν ἐφώναξε καὶ τότες ἐγεννήθη.
Βροντὲς ἐκάμαν μὲ σεισμὸν κ' ἦρθε κοντά της ζάλη,
πάραυτα ἐφοβήθησαν μικροί τε καὶ μεγάλοι.
Τὸ πῶς τοῦ δῶσαν οἱ θεοὶ τόση μεγάλη χάρη,
σὰν ἐγεννήθ' 'Αλέξανδρος, ὁ Φίλιππος ἐχάρη.
Καὶ ὅρισε στὲς χῶρες του ὅλοι χαρὲς νὰ κάμουν,
καὶ γιὰ τὴ γέννα τοῦ παιδιοῦ νὰ τὴν ἀναθιβάνουν.
'Αλέξανδρος ἐθρέφετον σὲ ἡλικιὰ κι ἀξαίνει,
οὐδὲ τῆς μάνας ἔμοιαζε οὐδὲ πατρὸς τῷ γένει.
Τὸ ἦθος τού 'τον θαυμαστόν, ἦτον ὡσὰν λοντάρι,
τ' ἀριστερὸ τὸ μάτι του εἶχε μεγάλη χάρη·
καὶ τ' ἄλλον του, τὸ δεξιόν, ἤτονε μαυρισμένο,
ἀράθυμα ἐκοίταζε κ' ἔστεκε μανιωμένο.
Εἶχεν διδάσκαλον καλόν, τὸν μέγ' 'Αριστοτέλη,

Post 206 (206a) Περὶ τὸ ὀρνίθι ὁποὺ ἐγέννησεν εἰς τὴν ποδιὰ τοῦ Φιλίππου (titulus) || Post 222 (222a) Περὶ τῆς γεννήσεως 'Αλεξάνδρου (titulus) || 222α τοῦ 'Αλεξάνδρου C, in quo hic titulus ante 221 positus est || 227 κοντά της ἄλλη emendavi

κι αὐτεῖνον τὸν Λιάνιδα, πού 'χαν κ' οἱ δυὸ τὰ τέλη.
Καὶ μιὰν ἡμέρα φέρασι ἕν' ἄλογο μεγάλο,
κανίσκι εἰς τὸν Φίλιππον, ὁπού οὐκ ἦτον ἄλλο·
τόσό 'τον μέγα φοβερὸν κ' ἤθελαν τριπηδήσει,
κανένας δὲν ἠμπόρειε αὐτεῖνο νὰ κρατήση.
Καὶ ὥρισεν ὁ Φίλιππος αὐτεῖνο νὰ φυλάξουν,
στὸν στάβλον νὰ τὸ βάλουσι καὶ νὰ τὸ κατατάξουν.
Κι ὡσὰν ἐγίνη 'Αλέξανδρος τοὺς χρόνους δωδεκάρης,
ἐπήγαινε στὸν πόλεμον κι αὐτεῖνος καβαλάρης·
κ' ἐκτύπα μὲ τοὺς μπροστινοὺς κι αὐτεῖνος κονδαρέα,
καὶ ὅθεν τὸν ἠβλέπασι τοῦ κάμνασι μερέα.
Καὶ εἶπε του ὁ Φίλιππος· «Στρατιὰ καλὰ τὴν σιάζεις,
καὶ ὅλον τὸ φουσάτο μου ἐσὺ νὰ τ' ὁρδινιάζης.»
'Ως τό 'κουσε 'Ολυμπιὰς πολὺ κακὸν τῆς φάνη,
κ' ἔκραξε τὸν Νεκτεναβὸ κι ἄρχισε ν' ἀθιβάνη·
«Γιὰ δές μου εἰς τὴν τέχνη σου τὸ τί μοῦ θέλει ποίσει
ὁ ἄνδρας μου ὁ Φίλιππος, ἂν ἔναι καὶ μ' ἀφήση.
Ἔπαρ' καὶ τὸν 'Αλέξανδρον τὴν τέχνη ν' ἁρμηνεύσης,
πάντα κοντά σου σύρνε τον, νὰ τόνε μαθητεύσης.»
'Επῆρε τὸν 'Αλέξανδρον γιὰ νὰ τοῦ δείξη τ' ἄστρο,
κ' ἐκεῖνος τὸν ἀσκόντησε, γκρεμνίζει τον 'κ τὸ κάστρο.
'Αφώναξε Νεκτεναβός· «Γιατί μὲ ἐγκρεμνίζεις,
ὁπού 'μαι ὁ πατέρας σου καὶ δὲ μὲ ἐγνωρίζεις;»
Καὶ εἶπε του 'Αλέξανδρος· «Τὸν οὐρανὸν γυρεύεις,
μὲ τὲς μαγειές σου τὲς πολλὲς τὴν Αἴγυπτ' ἀφεντεύεις.»
Εἶπε του ὁ Νεκτεναβός· «Δὲν ἒν παρὰ νὰ γένη,
γιατὶ σὲ τοῦτο ἡ μαγειὰ μ' ἔχει διαρμηνεμένη.»
Εἶπε του ὁ 'Αλέξανδρος· «Ἤξερες θὲς νὰ ποίσω,
πῶς δὲν ἐπαραμέρισες νὰ μὴ σὲ ἐγκρεμνίσω;»
«Ηὗρῆκα το εἰς τὴν μαντειὰ τί ἔναι τοῦ ριζικοῦ μου,
διὰ νὰ λάβω θάνατον 'κ τὰ χέρια τοῦ παιδιοῦ μου.»
'Απιλογήθ' 'Αλέξανδρος· «Πῶς εἶμ' ἐγὼ υἱός σου;
Λοιπὸν βεβαίωσέ μου το, ἂν εἶμαι ἐδικός σου.»
Εἶπε του τὴν ἀθιβολή, πῶς ἔναι ἡ σπορά του,
καὶ πῶς στὴν Αἴγυπτ' ἄφησε αὐτὸς τὴν αὐθεντιά του.
'Ωσὰν τοῦ τὰ ξηγήθηκε, ἔμεινε ποθαμένος,

Post 240 (240a) Περὶ τοῦ Βουκεφάλου (titulus) || Post 258 Περὶ τὸ πῶς ἐσυνέβη ὁ θάνατος τοῦ Νεκτεναβοῦ (titulus)

λοιπὸν κανένα βοηθὸν δὲν εἶχεν ὁ καημένος.
Σὰν εἶδεν ὁ 'Αλέξανδρος κι αὐτεῖνος ἀποθαίνει,
παίρνει τον εἰς τὸν ὦμον του, στὸ σπίτι τὸν παγαίνει.
'Αλέξανδρος λυπήθηκε πὼς ἔκτεινε πατέρα,
καὶ δυνατὰ τὸν ἔκλαυσε ἐκείνην τὴν ἑσπέρα.
Καὶ ἦλθεν ἡ 'Ολυμπιὰς κ' ηὗρε τον ξαπλωμένον,
τὸν ἄτυχον τὸν Κτεναβό, νεκρὸν ἀποθαμένον·
«Καὶ δὲν ἐδιάβηκε ἐψὲς νὰ κάμη τὴ μαγεία;»
'Απιλογήθ' 'Αλέξανδρος κ' εἶπε της τὴν αἰτία·
«'Ετοῦτος ἒν πατέρας μου πού σέ 'χε στὸ κρεβάτι,
ὁπὄρχετον καὶ σὄλεγε, ἕνας θεὸς σ' ἐκράτει.»
'Ως τό 'κουσεν 'Ολυμπιάς, τὴν ἁμαρτιὰ ἐμέφθη
πὼς ἐπλανήθη κ' ἔκαμε μετ' αὖτον κ' ἐμοιχεύθη.
Κ' ὕστερον ἡ 'Ολυμπιὰς αὐτεῖνον σαβανώνει,
σάβανον χρυσοράντιστον, μ' αὐτεῖνο τόνε χώνει.
Λοιπὸν ἔλειπε Φίλιππος κ' ἤθελε να πιστρέψη,
ἐδιάβηκε στὸ μάντειο ὡς διὰ νὰ μαντέψη.
'Ερώτησέ τους τὸ λοιπόν· «Τίς θέλει βασιλεύσει,
ποιὸς θέλει γένει βασιλεὺς κι ὅλα νὰ τ' ἀφεντεύση;»
Καὶ τὸ μαντειὸ 'ποκρίθηκε· «'Εκεῖνος θέλει ὁρίσει
ποὺ κάτσει στὸν βουκέφαλον κι ἀπάνω νὰ πηδήση.»
'Αριστοτέλης ἔλεγεν, ἐκεῖνος ὀπ' ὁρίση
τῶν μαθητάδων τὸ λοιπόν, τί διὰ νὰ τοῦ χαρίση.
'Εκεῖνοι τοῦ ἐτάξασι πράματα νὰ τοῦ δώσουν,
νὰ εἶναι εἰς ἀντίμεψιν, γιὰ νὰ τοῦ τὰ πληρώσουν.
Ρωτᾶ καὶ τὸν 'Αλέξανδρον τί γιὰ νὰ τοῦ χαρίση,
ἂν ἔλθη τὸ βασίλειον εἰς αὖτον καὶ νὰ 'ρίση.
'Απιλογήθ' 'Αλέξανδρος, ἂν ἔναι καὶ ὁρίση,
κεῖνο ποὺ τοῦ 'θελε φανῆ, ἤθελεν τοῦ χαρίσει.
«Χαίροις,» τοῦ λέγει, τὸ λοιπόν, «'Αλέξανδρ' αὐτοκράτορ·
σ' ἐσένα τὸ βασίλειον ἔρχεται, μονοκράτορ.»
Καὶ μιὰν ἡμέρα θέλησεν 'Αλέξανδρος νὰ ποίση,
καὶ ἄλογον ἐγύρεψε νὰ βγῆ νὰ πολεμήση.
Ἄρχισεν ὁ Βουκέφαλος διὰ νὰ χλιμιτρίζη,
καὶ εἶπαν του· «Βουκέφαλος ἔναι ποὺ ἀνταρίζει.»

Post 276 Γνωμικὸν (276 a-d) Τὰ τῆς τύχης τὰ γραμμένα, - ὁπού μέλλουν στὸν καθένα, - πλέο δὲν μεταγεννοῦνται, - ἀμὴ ὅλα διορθοῦνται. || Post 290 (290a) Περὶ τὸ πῶς ἐμαντεύθη ὁ Φίλιππος (titulus) || 292 μάντεο edd. μάντευο C || 295 μαντίο || Post 306 (306a) Περὶ τὸ πῶς ἐκαβαλίκευσεν ὁ 'Αλέξανδρος τὸν Βουκέφαλον (titulus)

Κ' ἐδιάβη ὁ 'Αλέξανδρος κ' εἶδε τον πού γυρίζει·
τότε τὸν ἐχαλίνωσε κι ἀπάνου του καθίζει.
Σὰν τό 'μαθεν ὁ Φίλιππος ἐδιάβη κι ἀπαντᾶ τον,
τρέχει λοιπὸν μὲ τὴν σπουδὴν καὶ γλυκοχαιρετᾶ τον.
'Ανεθυμήθη Φίλιππος ἐκεῖ ὁπού μαντεύθη,
τὸ ποιὸς νά'ρίση ἐξ αὐτῶν τώρα τὸ μαθητεύθη.
Καὶ σὰν ἐγίνη 'Αλέξανδρος εἰς τὴν παλικαρία,
ἐρώτησε τὸν Φίλιππον νὰ πάγη στὸν Μωρέα·
καὶ ἀρματώνει κάτεργα καὶ θέλει νὰ μισεύση,
καὶ κάμνει καὶ τὴν ὀρδινιὰ ὡς γιὰ νὰ ταξιδεύση·
κ' ἔφερε ἄλογα καλὰ καὶ μ' αὖτα ἀρματώθη,
καὶ ὅλους τους ἐνίκησε, καὶ τότ' ἐστεφανώθη.
Καὶ ἦλθεν ὁ Νικόλαος, υἱὸς ὁ τοῦ Δαρείου,
εἶπε του ὁ 'Αλέξανδρος· «Πάρει θὲς μὲ ραβδίου;»
Γυρίζει ὁ Νικόλαος αὐτεῖνον καὶ τὸν φθύνει,
καὶ δὲν ἠθέλησε ποσῶς αὐτὸς νὰ τὸ πομείνη.
'Εμήνησέ τ' 'Αλέξανδρος νὰ μὴ χολομανίση,
ὅτι τὴν αὐθεντία του αὐτὸς τὴν θέλει ὁρίσει.
Σὰν ἐχολομανίσθησαν, τότες ἐχωριστῆκαν,
μετ' αὖτον ὁ Νικόλαος εἶχε μεγάλη πρίκαν.
Καὶ μέρες περαζόμενες ἦλθε νὰ δοκιμάση
τὸ ἄλογό του καθαείς, τὸ ποιὸς γιὰ νὰ περάση.
Μέσα σ' αὐτείνους ἤτονε κι αὐτὸς ὁ κὺρ Νικόλας,
υἱὸς Δαρείου, τὸ λοιπόν, κ' ἔλαμπε ὡς ἀστέρας.
Ἦσαν καὶ ἀφεντῶν παιδιὰ ἐννέα διαλεμένα,
μὲ τάξη καὶ μὲ φρόνεση ἤτονε τὸ καθένα.
Κι ὅλοι ἐτρέχαν τὸ λοιπόν, ποῖος γιὰ νὰ περάση,
μὲ θέλημά τ' 'Αλέξανδρος μένει νὰ μὴν τοὺς φθάση.
'Εκεῖνοι ἐστοιβάκτησαν κ' ἐκλείσασι τὸν δρόμον,
'Αλέξανδρος ἀπὸ πλευροῦ περνᾶ μὲ δίχως τρόμον.
'Ως εἶδεν ὁ 'Αλέξανδρος μεγάλως τὸ ἐχάρη,
τὸ πῶς ἐδιάβη ὀμπροστά, ἄλλος οὐκ εἶχε χάρη.
Κι ὡς εἶδεν ὁ Νικόλαος, ἐφώναξε· «Μερία,
ἀπέρασε 'Αλέξανδρος μετὰ τὴν πονηρία.»
Κ' εἶπε του ὁ Νικόλαος· «Τὸ δίκαιον νὰ πιάση,
πάλι ἂς μεταδράμωμε καὶ εἴτις ἀπεράση.»

Post 322 (322a) Περὶ τὸ δικάσιμον 'Αλεξάνδρου καὶ Νικολάου (titulus) || 330 πρί-κα corr. || Post 332 (332a) Περὶ τὸ πῶς ἔδραμε Νικόλαος καὶ 'Αλέξανδρος (titulus)

Καὶ εἴπασι τῶν ἀλλωνῶν ὀπίσω γιὰ νὰ κάμουν,
Νικόλαος κι 'Αλέξανδρος ὀμπρὸς διὰ νὰ δράμουν.
'Ετρέχασι τὰ ἄλογα ἐκεῖνα τοῦ καθένος,
τοῦ Νικολάου σκόνταψε κ' ἔμεινε νεκρωμένος,
διότις τὸν ἐπλάκωσε ἡ σέλα κ' ἐσκοτώθη·
'Αλέξανδρος ἐκέρδαισε καὶ τότ' ἐστεφανώθη.
Καὶ τότε πάλι χώρισε καὶ πὰ νὰ προσκυνήση,
καὶ εἴπασίν του οἱ θεοί, ὅλα τὰ θέλει ὁρίσει·
«'Ωσὰν καὶ τὸν Νικόλαον, π' ἀτός του ἐσκοτώθη,
ἔτσι κ' ἐσὲν ἡ βασιλειὰ ἐκ τοὺς θεοὺς ἐδόθη.»
Λοιπὸν αὐτεῖνος ἔσωσε εἰς τὴν Μακεδονίαν,
καὶ γιὰ τὸν γάμον ἔμαθε, κ' εἶχε πολλὴν μανίαν,
τὸ πῶς πανδρεύτη Φίλιππος, τὴ μάνα του ἀφήνει·
'Αλέξανδρος ἐρώτησε· «Καὶ τοῦτο πῶς ἐγίνη;»
Κ' ἐρώτησε τὸν Φίλιππον, ἐτοῦτο ἂν τ' ἀρέση,
στὸν γάμον τῆς μητέρας του αὐτὸς νὰ τὸν καλέση,
γιὰ νὰ τῆς δώση ἄνδρα της τότε βλογητικό της,
ὅγοιον τῆς δώσ' ἡ μοίρα της κι αὐτὸ τὸ ριζικό της.
Καὶ τοῦτο εἶπ' 'Αλέξανδρος, γυρίζει καὶ καθίζει,
καὶ γιὰ τὸν γάμον τίποτες ποσῶς οὐδὲν τὸ χρήζει.
'Ο συγγενὴς τοῦ Φίλιππου τότες ἐχολομάνει,
καὶ εἶπε τοῦ 'Αλέξανδρου νὰ μὴν τ' ἀναθιβάνη·
καὶ κούπα κράτει 'Αλέξανδρος ὁπὄπιε μετ' ἐκείνη,
τὴν κούπα ἔσυρε λοιπόν, στὸν μήλιγγα τοῦ δίνει·
καὶ πάραυτα ξεψύχησε κ' ἔμειν' ἀποθαμένος.
'Ωσὰν τὸν εἶδ' ὁ Φίλιππος ὅτι ἔναι σκοτωμένος,
ἐτότες ἐξεσπάθωσε κ' ἠθέλησε νὰ σώση,
υἱόν του τὸν 'Αλέξανδρον γιὰ νὰ τόνε σκοτώση.
Πηγαίνοντας ἀσκόνταψε κ' ἔπεσε 'κ τὴν τρομάρα,
σὰν νά 'χε στὰ ποδάρια του μεγάλη κρατημάρα·
καὶ τὴν ρομφαίαν ἅρπαξε 'κ τὰ χέρια τοῦ πατρός του,
κ' ἐγίνηκε ἐκδικητὴς ἐτότες τῆς μητρός του.
Ἔπιασε κ' ἐκατάκοψε ὅλους τοὺς καλεσμένους,
χάμω στὴν γῆν τοὺς ἔριξε ὅλους ἀποθαμένους.
'Εκ τὸ πικρό του Φίλιππος ἦλθε γιὰ ν' ἀρρωστήση·
ἐδιάβηκε 'Αλέξανδρος νὰ τὸν παρηγορήση.
Εἶπε του ὁ 'Αλέξανδρος· «Σὰν νά 'μουνα ἐχθρός σου,
γιὰ τὸν Λυσία ἤθελες νὰ σφάξης τὸν υἱό σου;

384 υἱόν σου corr.

Λοιπὸν ἐτοῦτ' ἀφήνω τα καὶ ὅλα θὲ νὰ πάψου,
ὅμως μὲ τὴν μητέρα μου σύρε καὶ ἀναπάψου.»
Εἶπε του ὁ 'Αλέξανδρος, ὑπὰ νὰ τοῦ τὴν φέρη,
γιὰ νά 'ναι πάντα μετ' αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ δικό του χέρι.
'Εδιάβη ὁ 'Αλέξανδρος καὶ λέγει τῆς μητρός του,
πρέπει διὰ νὰ πείθεται ἐκείνη τοῦ πατρός του·
ὁ ἄνδρας πρέπει ν' ἀγαπᾶ γυναίκα δίχως μάχη,
καὶ ἡ γυναίκα πρὸς αὐτὸν τὸν φόβον θέλει νά 'χη.
Οἱ Μακεδόνες ἀποροῦν, ἐκεῖνος ν' ἀρμηνεύη,
'Αλέξανδρος, ποὺ ἔν παιδί, ἐκείνους νὰ 'ρηνεύη.
'Ημέρες περαζόμενες Φίλιππον πιάνουν πόνοι·
μαντάτα τοῦ ἠφέρασι, ἀπίστησε Μοθώνη.
Ἔπεψε τὸν 'Αλέξανδρον κ' ἐκείνους εἰρηνεύει,
καὶ μὲ τὰ λόγια τὰ καλὰ ὅλους τους ἀφεντεύει.
Γυρίζοντας 'Αλέξανδρος ὁπού 'ρθε 'κ τὴν Μοθώνη,
ἤλθασιν ὀκ τὸν Δάρειον γιὰ τέλος νὰ πληρώνη·
καὶ ἀπεκρίθ' 'Αλέξανδρος· «Γιὰ τί ζητᾶτε τέλος;
Τοῦτο τὸ ἔχω στὴν καρδιὰ σὰν νά 'χα μέγα βέλος.»
Κ' ἐκεῖνοι ἀπεκρίθησαν· «Γιὰ γῆ ὁποὺ πατεῖτε,
καὶ γιὰ νερὸ ποὺ πίνετε, καὶ ἥλιον ποὺ θωρεῖτε·
γιὰ τοῦτο σᾶς γυρεύομεν νά 'στε διαδουλωμένοι
σ' αὐτὸν τὸν μέγαν βασιλιὰ ὅλοι σας 'γγαρεμένοι.»
Καὶ ἀπεκρίθ' 'Αλέξανδρος· «Τοῦτα τὰ ἐπληρῶσαν,
οἱ γὰρ θεοὶ σὲ 'πηρεσιὰ κι ἀνθρώπων τὰ ἐδῶσαν.
Τοῦτο γινώσκετε λοιπόν, τίποτα δὲ σᾶς δίδω·
τὰ λόγια τοῦτα εἰς ἐσᾶς ὅλα τὰ παραδίδω.
Εἰπέτε τοῦ αὐθέντη σας ἐτοῦτο νὰ μοῦ ποίση,
τὸ τέλος ποὺ ἐδώσαμε ὀπίσω νὰ γυρίση.
Κ' ἔρχομαι κεῖ νὰ τὸν ἰδῶ, ὡς διὰ νὰ μοῦ δώση
τὸ τέλος ποὺ μᾶς ἔπαιρνε, καλὰ νὰ μὲ πληρώση.»
Κ' ἐκεῖνοι, σὰν ἐγρίκησαν, ὀπίσω ἐγυρίσαν
στὸν Δάρειον καὶ εἶπασι ἐκεῖνα ποὺ γρικῆσαν.
Καὶ τότες ἐζωγράφισαν 'Αλέξανδρου τὸ ἦθος,
καὶ ἦτον τόσον θαυμαστόν, σὰν ν' ἔναι τῆς ἀσπίδος.
'Ως τ' ἄκουσεν ὁ Δάρειος, μεγάλως τὸ θυμώθη
τὰ λόγια τοῦ 'Αλέξανδρου καὶ δυνατὰ ἐτρώθη.
Μαντάτα ἦλθαν κ' εἶπασι, ἀπίστησ' ἄλλο κάστρο,

Post 394 Γνωμικὸν (394 a-b) Λέγει καὶ ὁ Σολομὼν μέσα στὶς παροιμιές του, - γέρος ποὺ νά 'ναι πελελός, δὲν ξίζουν οἱ ὀρδινιές του.

ἡ Θράκη τὴν ἐλέγασι, ὄντεν ἐβγῆκε τ' ἄστρο.
Καὶ τὸν 'Αλέξανδρό 'στειλε αὐτὸ νὰ πολεμήση,
καὶ νὰ τῆς δώκη πόλεμον, αὐτὸς νὰ τὴν ὁρίση.
Καὶ Παυσανίας ὄνομα, Σαλονικιῶν ὁμάδα,
μαντάτα κεῖνος ἔπεβεν εἰς τὴν 'Ολυμπιάδα,
διὰ ν' ἀφήση Φίλιππον, ἐκεῖνον γιὰ νὰ πάρη·
κ' ἐκείνη τοῦ ἐμήνησε, δὲν ἔχει τέτοιαν χάρη.
'Αλέξανδρος ἐμίσευσε, κ' ἤθελε νὰ πατάξη
ὁ Παυσανίας Φίλιππον ὡς γιὰ νὰ τὴν ἁρπάξη.
'Ο Φίλιππος ἐδιάβηκε γιὰ νὰ περιδιαβάση,
ὁ Παυσανίας σύντομα τότε σπαθὶν ἁρπάσσει.
Καὶ ἔδωκε τοῦ Φίλιππου ἀπάνω στὸ κεφάλι,
γιατὶ δὲν ἐλογάριαζε τὰ στέρνα κεῖνος πάλι.
Ὅρμησε μ' ὅλη τὴ σπουδὴ τὸν Φίλιππον νὰ σφάξη,
'Ολυμπιάδα ἔδραμε ὡς γιὰ νὰ τὴν ἁρπάξη·
κ' ἐδιάβη κι ἀγκαλιάσθη την αὐτὸς νὰ τὴν ἐπάρη,
καὶ μὸν τυχαίνει 'Αλέξανδρος ἐκεῖ μὲ τὸ κοντάρι.
Κι αὐτεῖνος ἐφοβήθηκε νὰ σύρη μὲ μανία,
μήπως καὶ τὴν μητέρα του σφάξη μὲ Παυσανία.
Εἶπε του ἡ μητέρα του· «Σύρε το τὸ κοντάρι,
βοθᾶ μ' 'Αμμῶνος ὁ Θεός, ὁπὄχει τόση χάρη.»
Καὶ παρευθὺς 'Αλέξανδρος τό 'συρε μὲ μανία,
καὶ τότε τὸν ἐσκότωσε αὐτὸς τὸν Παυσανία.
Καὶ τότε πάλι σύντομα αὐτεῖνος τὸν ἁρπάζει,
κ' ἐπαίρνει τον στὸν Φίλιππον ἀκόμα ποὺ ἀνάζει.
'Απῆτις τὸν ἠφέρασι τοῦ Φίλιππου ὀμπρός του,
'Αλέξανδρος τὸν ἔσφαξε ὀμπρὸς εἰς τοῦ πατρός του.
Εἶπε· «Παιδί μου 'Αλέξανδρε, δὲν ἔχω δὰ μανία,
διότι μοῦ ἐσκότωσες μιαρὸν τὸν Παυσανία.
Τώρα πεθαίνω μὲ χαρά, μὴν εἶστε λυπημένοι,
καὶ νὰ σοῦ δώσουν οἱ θεοὶ ὅλην τὴν οἰκουμένη.»
Καὶ τοῦτα εἶπε Φίλιππος κ' ἐδιέβη ἡ ζωή του
καὶ μετ' αὐτὴν ἐπλήρωσε κ' ἐβγῆκε ἡ ψυχή του.
'Ετότες ὀρδινιάσασι, κεριὰ μεγάλα ἅψαν,
μ' ἐντύματα βασιλικὰ αὐτεῖνον τὸν ἐθάψαν.
'Απόμεινε ἡ 'Ολυμπιάς, μ' 'Αλέξανδρ' ἀφεντεύει,
ἐχάσε τὸν πατέρα του καὶ μόνος του στρατεύει.

423 ἀλέξανδρόν corr. || Post 452 (452a) Περὶ τὸν θάνατον τοῦ Φιλίππου (titulus) || Post 458 (458a) 'Επιστολὴ ὁποὺ ἔστειλεν ὁ 'Αλέξανδρος εἰς τοὺς Ἕλληνας (titulus)

«Βασιλεὺς ᾿Αλέξανδρος, ὁ τῆς Μακεδονίας,
ὁ τοῦ Φιλίππου ὁ υἱὸς κι αὐτῆς τῆς ᾿Ολυμπίας.
῞Ολους σατράπας χαιρετῶ, κι ἃς εἶστ' ὀρδινιασμένοι,
νά 'λθετε εἰς τὸν πόλεμον, ὅλοι ἀρματωμένοι.
Γράφω σας νὰ ἠξεύρετε τί ἀπέθαν' ὁ πατήρ μου,
ἀπόμεινα στὴν αὐθεντιά, μόνε μὲ τὴ μητρί μου.
᾿Ορδινιαστῆτε τὸ λοιπὸν νὰ πᾶμε στοὺς ἐχθρούς μας,
γιὰ νὰ τοὺς καταλάβωμεν καὶ οἱ θεοὶ βοθοῦ μας.
᾿Ελᾶτε γληγορώτερα μ' ὅλο σας τὸ φουσάτο,
νὰ πᾶμε νὰ τοὺς βάλωμε ὅλους ἀπάνω κάτω·
κι ἂν ἀντιτείνη καὶ τινάς, θέλω νὰ τὸν τιμήσουν,
σὲ φούρκα ὑψηλότατην νὰ 'ρίσω νὰ φουρκίσουν.
Σ' ὅλους σας χαιρετίσματα σᾶς πέβω μὲ εἰρήνη,
καὶ ἀγαπᾶτε με καλὰ μὲ τὴν ἐμπιστοσύνη.»
῾Ωσὰν ἀκοῦσαν τὴν γραφὴν ἦλθαν 'ς Μακεδονίαν
οἱ στρατηγοὶ τ' ᾿Αλέξανδρου μ' ὅμορφην ὀρδινίαν.
᾿Ανοίξασιν τὰ ἅρματα πού 'σαν ὀχ τοὺς γονιούς τους,
νὰ πᾶσιν γληγορώτερο νὰ σφάξουν τοὺς ἐχθρούς τους.
῏Ηφερε καὶ τοὺς γέροντας πού 'ν κακοπαθημένοι,
κ' εἰς τοῦ πολέμου τὴν στρατιὰ εἶναι διαρμηνεμένοι.
Κ' ἐκεῖνοι ἀποκρίθησαν· «Δὲν πᾶμε σὲ στρατεία,
καὶ μὴ ἐμᾶς ἐπαίρνετε, κ' ἔχετε ἁμαρτία.»
Καὶ ἀπεκρίθ' ᾿Αλέξανδρος· «Θέλω ἐγὼ νὰ 'λθῆτε,
νὰ ἑρμηνεύσετε κ' ἐσεῖς ἐκεῖνο τὸ μπορεῖτε,
τοὺς νέους ν' ἀναγκάζετε νὰ μπαίνουν στὴν στρατεία,
νὰ κάμνουσιν ἐγλήγορα καὶ μὲ καλὴν καρδία.»
Καὶ τὸ φουσάτο μέτρησε κ' ηὗρε τὸ πατρικό του,
χιλιάδες πεντακόσιες πού 'σαν 'κ τὸ γονικό του·
συντρόφους ἑπταχίλιους ὁπού 'σαν τοῦ σπαθίου,
συμμάχους ἑπταχίλιους κ' ἦσαν τοῦ κονδαρίου·
καὶ ξένοι ἐμαζώχθησαν ἑξήντα χιλιάδες,
ὁπού 'λθασιν κ' ἐσμίξασι μ' αὐτεῖνες τὲς ὁμάδες·
ἄλογα μακεδονικὰ χίλια ἑπτακόσια
καὶ κηντηνάρια μάλαμα ἕως ⟨τὰ⟩ πεντακόσια·
καὶ ὅλοι ἦσαν τὸ λοιπὸν ὀμορφαρματωμένοι,
κεῖνοι ποὺ πᾶσι τῆς στερᾶς, καλά 'νιαι βγοδωμένοι.

468 ἀπάνου κάτου 1529, ἀπάνω κάτο C, ἀπάνου κάτο 1553 (et similiter recentiores) || 471 σόλουσας 1529, C, σόλτοσας 1553, alia aliae || Post 472 (472a) Περὶ τὸ πῶς ἦλθε τὸ φουσάτο εἰς τὴν Μακεδονίαν (titulus) || 492 κιντηνάρη edd. | ⟨τὰ⟩ supplevi.

᾿Κατὸ κάτεργ' ἁρμάτωσε κ' ἦτανε μέσα βέροι,
καὶ τότες τοὺς ἐρίξασι σ' ᾿Ανατολῆς τὰ μέρη.
Καὶ τότες ἐξεδιάλεξε τὰ κάλλια παλικάρια,
ἐκεῖνα πού 'σανε καλὰ καὶ τῆς ἀνδρειᾶς καθάρια.
Πάραυτα ἐκατέβηκε στὴν Λακεδαιμονία,
ἐκεῖ ἀπόμεινε καιρὸν καὶ κάμνει καὶ στρατεία.
Εἰς νῆσον ἐκατέβηκε, τὴν λέγουν Σικελία,
ἐδούλεσέ τους καὶ αὐτοὺς δίχως καμιὰ μαλία.
Καὶ εἰς τὴν Πούλια πέρασε κ' ἐδιάβη κεῖ κ' ἐφάνη,
Πουλιέζοι τοῦ ἐστείλασι ἕνα χρυσὸ στεφάνι,
λιθάρια πολυτίμητα μὲ τὸ μαργαριτάρι·
καὶ εἶπέ τους ᾿Αλέξανδρος, ἐκεῖνοι νά 'χουν χάρη·
παίρνει καὶ στάμενα περσά, τρακόσια κηντηνάρια,
δουκάτα λέγω μετρητά, ὁπού 'σανε καθάρια.
Τότες ἐκεῖθ' ἀπέρασε κ' ἐδιάβη στὴ Βερία
Βεριᾶς ἐκεῖν' οἱ στρατηγοὶ εἶχαν παλικαρία.
Τότες ἐπαρεκάλεσαν νὰ μὴν τοὺς ζημιώνουν,
κι ὅ,τι ὁρίσ' ᾿Αλέξανδρος ἐκεῖνοι νὰ πληρώνουν·
γρικώντας τὴν παλικαριὰ ἐκείνους εἰρηνεύει,
ἐτότες ἐσηκώθηκε ἐκεῖθε καὶ μισεύει.
Στὴν ᾿Αμμωνίκη ἐδιάβηκε, ὀμορφαρδινιασμένος,
νὰ προσκυνήση τοὺς θεούς, ὁπού 'τονε ταμένος.
᾿Εκεῖνος ἦτον ὁ θεός, τὸ ὄνομα ᾿Αμμῶνος·
ἐμπῆκε ὁ ᾿Αλέξανδρος εἰς τὸν ναόν του μόνος·
καὶ ἔστειλε τὰ κάτεργα εἰς τὴν Φωκίδα νῆσου,
νὰ πᾶσι γληγορώτερα καὶ νὰ μηδὲν ἀργήσου.
᾿Εκεῖνος γλήγορά 'λεγε ἐκεῖ γιὰ νὰ περάση,
μὸν νὰ σταθῇ στὸν ῎Αμμωνα νὰ τόνε θυσιάση.
Μέσα σ' αὐτεῖνον ἔμεινε νὰ δῆ τὴν ἀρετή του,
γιατὶ ἡ μάνα τὄλεγε τί αὐτὸς ἔν ὁ πατήρ του·
καὶ ἐδεήθη τὸν ᾿Αμμῶν, ἆ λέγη τὴν ἀλήθεια,
ἂν ἔναι ὁ πατέρας του καὶ ἔχη τον βοήθεια.
᾿Εκεῖ ποὺ ἐκοιμήθηκε, εἶδε εἰς τ' ὄνειρόν του,
τὴν μάνα τ' ἀγκαλιάστηκε κ' ἔχει τον βοηθόν του.
῾Ωσὰν τὸ εἶδε τ' ὄνειρον, αὐτὸν ἀνακαινίζει·
μὲ ὅλη τὴν σπλαγχνότητα ἔμορφα τόνε κτίζει
γράμματα γράφ' ᾿Αλέξανδρος, χαίρει θεῷ ᾿Αμμῶνι,

503 μπούλια edd. || Post 514 (514a) Περὶ τὸ πῶς ἐπροσκύνησε ᾿Αλέξανδρος τὸν ᾿Αμμῶν (titulus) || 522 τὸν νεθυσιάση edd.

υἱόν του τὸν 'Αλέξανδρον νὰ τὸν κατευοδώνη.
Καὶ τότε τὸν ἐρώτησε ἂν ἔν τὸ θελημά του
νὰ κτίση κάστρ' 'Αλέξανδρος, νὰ στέκη τ' ὄνομά του·
κι ἀπιλογήθη ὁ θεὸς ἃ θέλη γιὰ νὰ κάμη·
«Κτίσε πόλιν 'Αλέξανδρον στὸν Νεῖλον τὸ ποτάμι,
καὶ βάλε τὰ θεμέλια της στὴν παραθαλασσία,
σ' ὅλον τὸν κόσμον τὸ λοιπὸν νά 'χη τὴν ἐμπασία.»
Σὰν τ' ἄκουσεν 'Αλέξανδρος τοῦ ἔκαμε θυσία,
ἐτότες ἐκατέβηκε στὴν παραθαλασσία·
καὶ ἐκ τὸν Νεῖλον ποταμὸν ἐλάφι ἀπερνάει,
ὡκ τὸ φουσάτ' ἀπέρασε καὶ ὀμπρὸς πάντα πάει.
Καὶ ὥρησε 'Αλέξανδρος αὐτεῖνο νὰ δοξεύσουν,
νὰ δράμουσι ὀγλήγορα κ' ἐκεῖνο νὰ φονεύσουν.
Καὶ σύρνει τὰς σαΐτας του κ' ἐκεῖνος δὲν τὸ σώνει·
ἐκάλεσαν τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ τόπου κεῖ Πλατόνι.
Καὶ ἔφθασε 'Αλέξανδρος ἐκεῖθεν καὶ περνάει
'κ τὸν τάφονε τοῦ Σίρεως τότε καὶ προσκυνάει.
'Ηλθε 'ς ποτάμι φοβερὸν 'ς ποὺ δώδεκα παγαίνει,
πάσα ποτάμι τὸ λοιπὸν χώρά 'τον γεναμένη·
καὶ τὰ ποτάμια τὰ ἀκοῦς ἦσανε κινημένα.
Λοιπὸν αὐτὰ ἐρχόντησαν, στὴ θάλασσα παγαῖνα·
ἠθέλησεν 'Αλέξανδρος ἐκεῖ νὰ κτίση χώρα,
κ' ἐμέτρησε τὸ πλάτος της τότε κατὰ τὴν ὥρα,
ὁμοίως καὶ τὸ μάκρος της ἐσημαδέψανέ το,
καὶ νὰ κτιστῆ μικρότερη ἐσυβουλεύανέ το·
ὅλοι ἐσυβουλεῦαν τον μεγάλη μὴν τὴν κτίση,
μήπως δὲ θέλει δυνηθῆ ἀνθρώπους νὰ γεμίση.
Μεγάλη χώρα τὸ λοιπὸν ἔξοδον θέλει νά 'χη,
μὰ κάλλιο ἔναι νά 'ν μικρή, γιὰ νὰ μὴν ἔχη μάχη.
Καὶ ὥρισε 'Αλέξανδρος νὰ κάμουν οἱ κτιστάδες
ἐκεῖνο ποὺ νὰ τοὺς εἰποῦν ὅλοι οἱ βουλευτάδες·
κ' ἐκάμασι τὸ μάκρος της τοῦ Δράκοντος αὐλάκι,
ὁποὺ τὴν ἐθεμέλιωσαν κ' ἐκάμαν καὶ χαντάκι·
ἐπήγαινε τὸ μάκρος της τοῦ Θέμβονος ποτάμι,
ἐκεῖθεν τὴν ἐκάμασι γιὰ νά 'χη τὴ δυνάμη·
ἦτον ἐκεῖ τὸ πλάτος της ὡς ἀπὸ τοῦ Μηδίου,
ἐπῆγε καὶ ἀκούμπισε ὡς τοῦ 'Αριλογχίου
καὶ ὅσοι ἦσαν ἐδεκεῖ Λεξανδρινοὺς τοὺς κράζει,
ἐδέτις καὶ τὴν χώραν του θέλει νὰ ὀνομάζη.

Είς γέρος τὸν βουλεύτηκε· «Νὰ κτίσης μὲ αὐλῶνας
τὴν πόλιν, ὢ 'Αλέξανδρε, νὰ στέκη εἰς αἰῶνας.»
"Ορισε γὰρ νὰ κάμουσι τὸν λόγον τοῦ γερόντου,
γιατ' εἶδε μὲ τὰ μάτια του πολλὰ εἰς τὸν καιρόν του.
Εἶδε νησὶ 'Αλέξανδρος κ' εἶπε τὸ πῶς τὸ κράζουν·
εἶπαν του· «Φέρον, δέσποτα, οἱ πάντες τ' ὀνομάζουν·
ἐκ' ἔναι τάφος τὸ λοιπὸν κι ὅρισε ἡ αὐθεντιά σου
(Τρωὸς μὲ τ' ὄνομα), κ' εἰπὲς αὐτεῖνον νὰ τὸν φθειάσου.»
Καὶ τοὺς κτιστάδες ἔστειλε νὰ τὸν ἀνακαινίσουν,
νὰ πᾶσι γληγορώτερο καὶ νὰ μηδὲν ἀργήσουν·
κ' ἐδιάβηκαν κ' ἐκτίσαν τον καὶ πάλι ἐγυρίσαν
τὴν χώραν ὅλη ὁλόγυρα μ' ἀλεύρι ἐμετρῆσαν.
'Ως εἴδασι τὰ ὄρνεα τ' ἀλεύρια πῶς ὑπᾶνε,
στ' ἀλεύρια ἐχυμήσασι ὅλα τους γιὰ νὰ φᾶνε.
Κ' ἐρώτησεν 'Αλέξανδρος τὸ τί δηλοῖ ἡ πέψη·
«'Η χώρα κείνη», τοῦ 'πασι, «τὸν κόσμον θέλει θρέψει.
Καθὼς εἶν καὶ τὰ ὄρνεα ποὺ πᾶν τὴν οἰκουμένη,
ἡ χώρα μας γὰρ πάντοτε θέλ' εἶσται τιμημένη.»
'Ο μάστορας ἀρχίνησε τὴ χώρα γιὰ νὰ κτίζη,
κ' ἐβγῆκε δράκος φοβερὸς καὶ δυνατὰ σουρίζει·
ὅρισε ὁ 'Αλέξανδρος νὰ σφάξουσι τὸν δράκον,
κ' εἶπε νὰ τόνε θάψουσι, καὶ νὰ τοῦ κάμουν λάκκον.
'Εκεῖ ποὺ τὸν ἐθάψασι, κάμνει ναὸν μεγάλον,
στῆς χώρας τὸ περίγυρο οὐδὲν ηὑρίσκεις ἄλλον.
Στὴν χώραν ἦσαν τὸ λοιπὸν ὅταν ἐθεμελιώθη,
οὐδὲν ἐλεῖψαν ἀποκεῖ, ὥστε ποὺ τελειώθη·
καὶ πέντε γράμματά 'γραψαν σὲ στίχον εἰς τὴν πόλη,
γιὰ νὰ τὰ βλέπουν τὸ λοιπὸν νὰ τ' ἀναγνώθουν ὅλοι·
τὰ γράμματα ποὺ θὲ νὰ πῶ, ποὺ θέλετε ἀκούσει,
ἐκεῖνοι ποὺ τὰ λέγουσι θέλουν σᾶς τὸ διαλύσει·
τὸ ἄλφα λέγει 'Αλέξανδρος, τὸ βῆτα βασιλεία,
τὸ γάμμα γένος, ὅρισε ὅλην τὴν αὐθεντία·
τὸ δέλτα Δία τοῦ θεοῦ, τὸ ε̃ αὐτεῖνο πάλι,
ἐπόκτισεν 'Αλέξανδρος τὴ χώρα τὴ μεγάλη.
'Εμίσευσεν 'Αλέξανδρος κ' ἠθέλησε νὰ ποίση,
στὸν Σοβραπίδη τὸν θεὸν νὰ πὰ νὰ προσκυνήση·
τότες τὸν ἐπροσκύνησε κι αὐτεῖνον ὀνομάζει,

571 νὰ κτίσης μὲ αὐλῶνας: conieci e γιανακτιστῆ μ' ἀγκῶνας || 597 πόλιν corr. || 603 διὰ corr.

πρόβατα φέρνει περισσὰ καὶ τόνε θυσιάζει.
Ὅρισε τὰ φουσάτα του στὴν Αἴγυπτον νὰ πᾶσι,
ὁ κόμης μὲ τὰ κάτεργα στὴν Τρίπολη νὰ πιάσῃ.
Στὴν Μέφη ἐδιάβησαν, ἐκεῖθεν τριγυρίζουν,
οἱ Μέφοι τότε μὲ σπουδὴ αὐτείνους κανισκίζουν·
κ' ἐπαίρνουν τὸν 'Αλέξανδρον στὸν θρόνον νὰ καθίσῃ,
εἰς τοῦ Φαγίστου τοῦ θεοῦ, ὡς γιὰ νὰ τοὺς ὁρίσῃ·
ὡσὰν ἐκάτσε στὸ θρονί, εἶδε ἐκεῖ γραμμένα,
εἰς μιὰ κολόνα γράμματα κ' ἦσαν διαρμηνεμένα·
κ' ἐλέγασι τὰ γράμματα νά 'λθῃ ἡ βασιλεία,
νὰ καταλάβῃ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς κ' ἐκείνην τὴν Περσία.
'Ερώτησεν 'Αλέξανδρος γιὰ τὰ ἐκεῖ θεμένα,
καὶ εἶπασι· «Τοῦ Κτεναβοῦ εἶναι τὰ γεγραμμένα·
τὸν εἴχαμεν αὐθέντη μας καὶ ἐκυρίευέ μας,
καὶ μιὰν αὐγὴ σηκώθηκε ἐδῶθεν κ' ἔφυγέ μας·
καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς δεήθημαν νὰ δοῦμε τί ἐγίνη,
καὶ ἀποκρίθησαν σ' ἐμᾶς καὶ εἶπασι ἐκεῖνοι
ὅτι ἔλθει θέλει βασιλειὰ καλὰ νὰ μᾶς ὁρίσῃ,
στὰ ἔθνη κεῖνα τὰ κακὰ νὰ μᾶς ἐξεκδικήσῃ.»
'Ως τὸ 'κουσεν 'Αλέξανδρος, ἀγκάλιασε τὴν στήλη,
καὶ ὅλην τὴν ἐφίλησε μὲ στόμα καὶ μὲ χείλη·
καὶ εἶπε· «Τοῦ πατέρα μου εἶναι τὰ γεγραμμένα,
ἐκεῖνος τὰ προφήτευε καὶ τά 'καμνε γιὰ μένα.»
Στάμενα τοὺς ἐζήτησε νὰ κτίσ' 'Αλεξανδρεία,
κ' ἐκεῖνοι τοῦ ἐδώκασι μὲ καθαρὴ καρδία.
'Εκεῖθεν ἀσηκώθηκε κ' ὑπάγει στὴ Σουρία,
ὅλοι τους τοῦ δουλώθηκαν καὶ κάμνουν του μερία.
Καὶ τότες ἐκατέβηκε στὴν Τύρον κ' ἐδιέβη·
ἡ Τύρο δὲν τὸν προσκυνᾷ, μὰ πόλεμον γυρεύει.
Λοιπὸν σκοτώθησαν ἐκεῖ πολλοὶ Μακεδονίτες,
ὁποὺ τοὺς ἐσκοτώσασι αὐτεῖνοι οἱ Τυρίτες·
γραφὴ ἔκαμε 'Αλέξανδρος στὴν Τύρο γιὰ νὰ δώσουν,
μαντατοφόρους ἔστειλε νὰ τοῦ τὴν παραδώσουν·
ἔγραφεν ἔτσι ἡ γραφή, σὰν θέλετε ἀκούσει,
οὕτως τὴν ἐδιαβάσασι κι ὅλοι τους τὴν γρικοῦσι·
«Βασιλεὺς 'Αλέξανδρος, υἱὸς ὁ τοῦ 'Αμμῶνος,
καὶ τοῦ Φιλίππου ὁ υἱός, ἦτον αὐτεῖνος μόνος·

644 Φιλίππου add.

καὶ βασιλεὺς γὰρ μέγιστος Εὐρώπης καὶ 'Ασίας,
Αἰγύπτου γὰρ καὶ τῶν ἑξῆς, καὶ πάσης τῆς Σουρίας·
λοιπὸν στὰ ἔθνη ἔρχουνμου αὐτεῖνα τῆς 'Ασίας,
κ' ἐκεῖνα γὰρ ἐδούλωσα ὁμοῦ μὲ τῆς Σουρίας·
σ' ἐκεῖνα γὰρ ὑπήγαινα κ' εἶχα μεγάλ' εἰρήνη,
καὶ ὅλοι μοῦ δουλώνοντα, κ' ἔκαμνα δικιοσύνη.
'Εσεῖς ὀρέγεσθε λοιπὸν διὰ νὰ πολεμᾶτε,
σὲ ποιὰν ὀλπίδα στέκεστε, ποῦ θέλετε νὰ πᾶτε;
Λοιπὸν τὸ κάστρο δότε μου μὲ τὴν ταπεινοσύνη,
κ' ἐγὼ νὰ κάμω εἰς ἐσᾶς μεγάλη λεμοσύνη.
Καὶ ἂν οὐδὲν θελήσετε, θέλω νὰ κάμω δρόμον,
τὰ ἄλλα ἔθνη γιὰ νὰ δοῦν, νά 'χουν μεγάλον τρόμον.
'Ωσὰν ἰδοῦν 'Αλέξανδρον ὅλοι νὰ προσκυνοῦσι,
ν' ἀνοίγουσι τὲς χῶρες τους καὶ νὰ τὸν ἀγαποῦσι.
Λοιπὸν διὰ τὸ κάλλιο σας ὅλους σας συβουλεύω,
κι ὅλων σας χαιρετίσματα μὲ τὴ γραφὴ σᾶς πέβω.»
'Ωσὰν ἀκοῦσαν τὴν γραφήν, ἀβούλως ἔτσ' ἐποῖσαν,
τοὺς χαρτοφόρους παρευθὺς ἔπιασαν κ' ἐφουρκίσαν.
'Ως τό 'κουσεν 'Αλέξανδρος, ἔσεισε τὸ κεφάλι,
κ' ἐγύρευε κατασκευὴ γιὰ νὰ τοὺς καταβάλῃ.
Στὸν ὕπνον τού 'δ' 'Αλέξανδρος ἐνά 'μορφο ὀνεῖρο,
κ' οἱ μάντες του τοῦ εἶπασι τὶ πάρει θὲ τὴν Τύρο·
κ' εἰς τρεῖς ἡμέρες τὸ λοιπὸν ἡ Τύρο παρεδόθη,
ἐπῆρε την 'Αλέξανδρος, στὰς χεῖρας του ἐδόθη.
'Εμπαίνουν τὰ φουσάτα του κι ὅλη την ἀφανίζει,
κι ὅποιοι ἐκάμαν τὸ κακό, πιάνει καὶ τοὺς φουρκίζει.
Φουσάτο μέσα ἄφησε, ὅσ' ἀπατός του χρήζει,
νὰ τὴ φυλάγῃ δυνατὰ καὶ νὰ τὴν περιορίζῃ.
Καὶ ὅρισε 'Αλέξανδρος ὀμπρὸς γιὰ νὰ κρατοῦσι.
Μαντατοφόροι Δάρειου στὸν δρόμον τ' ἀπαντοῦσι.
'Ηφέρανέ του τὸ λοιπὸν χρυσὸν εἰσὲ σεντούκι,
βαστούσανέ του καὶ ραβδὶ καὶ σφύρα καὶ ματσούκι·
ἐδῶσαν του κ' ἐπιστολή, τὸ τί 'σαν τὰ γραμμένα,
ἐπιστολὴ τὰ θέλει πεῖ ὅλα τὰ γεγραμμένα.
«Βασιλεὺς ὁ Δάρειος, αὐθέντης τῆς Περσίας,
δοῦλο μ' ὁρίζ' 'Αλέξανδρον, πὸν τῆς Μακεδονίας,

670 κίοποι || 675 εἰς ἐν corr. || Post 678 (678a) 'Επιστολὴ ποὺ ἔστειλε Δάρειος πρὸς τὸν 'Αλέξανδρον (titulus)

νὰ στρέψη εἰς τὴν μάνα του νὰ τόνε κανακίζη,
καὶ νὰ τὸν ἔχη σὰν παιδὶ καὶ νὰ τόνε ραβδίζη·
γιὰ τοῦτο σοῦστειλα ραβδὶ ὡς διὰ νὰ σὲ δέρνουν,
μ' αὐτεῖνο νὰ σὲ δέρνουσι καὶ νὰ σὲ μαστιγώνουν·
καὶ τὸ σφυρὶ γιὰ παίγνιο, χρυσάφι γιὰ τροφή σου,
γιὰ ν' ἀγοράζης βρώματα, ν' ἀποκρατῆ ⟨ ἡ ⟩ πνοή σου·
γιὰ κείνους ποὺ ἐμάζωξες ἔξοδες νὰ γυρίσουν,
νὰ πᾶσι γληγορώτερα καὶ νὰ μηδὲν ἀργήσουν.
Γύρισε καὶ ἐσὺ λοιπὸν κι ἄμε μ' αὐτοὺς ὀπίσω,
τὶ πέβω νὰ σὲ πιάσουσι καὶ νὰ σὲ τυραγνήσω·
ἄμε, παιδάκι, τὸ λοιπόν, νὰ παίζης στὸ τσουγκάνι,
κι ὁ κόσμος νὰ μαζώνεται, τίποτες δὲ σοῦ κάνει·
δουκάτα 'χω ἀμέτρητα, φουσάτα ἔχω πλήθια,
τὸν κόσμον ὅλον τὸ λοιπὸν ἔχω τον γιὰ βοήθεια.
Κι ἂ δὲ μ' ἀκούσης νὰ στραφῆς διὰ νὰ πᾶς ὀπίσω,
νὰ πέψω νὰ σὲ πιάσουσι, καὶ νὰ σὲ τιμωρήσω·
καὶ τὸν θεόν, ταλαίπωρε, θέλεις νὰ πολεμήσης,
ὁποὺ 'μαι σύνθρονος ἡλιοῦ καὶ μὲ φοβᾶται ἡ κτίσις;»
Καὶ τὴ γραφὴ ἀκούσασι καὶ πιάνει τους ἡ ζάλη,
οἱ Μακεδόνες ἔτρεμαν, μικροί τε καὶ μεγάλοι.
Γρικώντας ὁ 'Αλέξανδρος ὅτ' εἶναι φοβισμένοι,
εἶπε τους· «Στρατιῶτες μου, γιατί 'στεν τρομασμένοι;
Γιὰ κεῖνα ὁποὺ ἔγραψε ὁ Δάρειος καὶ λέγει;
'Εγὼ ὀλπίζω στοὺς θεούς, ὕστερα θέλει κλαίγει·
αὐτὸς τὸ κάμνει σὰν σκυλὶ κι ἀπομακρὰ βαβίζει,
καὶ ὕστερα τὸν ἄνθρωπον ποσῶς δὲν τὸν ἐγγίζει.
Ἔτσι κι αὐτὸς μὲ λόγους του θέλει νὰ μᾶς φοβίζη·
λοιπὸν κι αὐτὸν ἀπομακρὰ ἀφῆτε τον κι ἂς βρίζη·
ἐλπίζω πρῶτα στοὺς θεοὺς κ' εἰς τὴν ὁμόνοιά μας,
νικοῦμε τον τὸν Δάρειον, μὸν νά 'ν καλὴ ⟨ἡ⟩ καρδιά μας.»
'Ετοῦτα εἶπ' 'Αλέξανδρος κι ὅρισε γιὰ νὰ ποίσουν,
μαντατοφόρους Δάρειου νὰ πᾶν νὰ τοὺς φουρκίσουν.
'Εκεῖνοι ἀποκρίθησαν· «Καὶ τί 'μαστε σφαλμένοι;
'Εμεῖς ἀπὸ τὸν Δάρειον εἴμαστ' ἀπεσταλμένοι.»
Εἶπε τους ὁ 'Αλέξανδρος· «Μὴ μέμφεστε ἐμένα,

686 γιανἀγοράτης corr. | ⟨ἡ⟩ supplevi || 689 καὶ ἐσὺ: καὶ σὺ emendavi metri causa || 691 στὸ: τὸ emend. || 693 Δουκατάχω edd. || 710 μὸν νά 'ν: μονᾶν | ⟨ἡ⟩ supplevi

μέμφεστε τὸν αὐθέντη σας, τά μὄχει δῶ γραμμένα·
οὐδὲν σᾶς πέβει 'ς βασιλιά, μόνον εἰσὲ παιδάρι·
τέτοιαν τιμὴ αὐθέντης σας μοῦ κάμνει κ' ἔχω χάρη.»
'Εκεῖνοι ἀποκρίθησαν· «Εἴμαστ' ἀπεσταλμένοι
ἐκ βασιλέα Δάρειον, εἴμαστ' ἑρμηνεμένοι·
καὶ τώρα ηὑρισκόμαστεν στὰ χέρια τὰ δικά σου,
ὅ,τι ὁρίσῃς εἰς ἐμᾶς κάμε ἡ αὐθεντιά σου.»
Κι ἀπιλογήθ' 'Αλέξανδρος, αὐτὸς τοὺς δοκιμάζει,
λοιπὸν κανίσκι ἔμορφο τότες τοὺς ὀρδινιάζει·
κ' ἐδῶσε τους ἐπιστολὴ τοῦ Δάρειου νὰ δώσουν,
νὰ τοῦ τὴν πᾶν ὀγλήγορα νὰ τοῦ τὴν ἀναγνώσουν.
'Επιστολὴ τὰ θέλει πεῖ ὅλα τὰ γεγραμμένα,
ἐκεῖνα πού 'π' 'Αλέξανδρος καὶ τά 'χει μιλημένα·
«Βασιλεὺς 'Αλέξανδρος, υἱὸς τῆς Λυμπιάδος,
Μακεδονίας ἀρχηγὸς καὶ πάσης τῆς ὁμάδος·
εἰς τῶν Περσῶν τὸν βασιλή, Δάρειον ἀξωμένον,
τὸν βασιλιὰ τῶν βασιλιῶν κι ἀπ' ὅλους τιμημένον·
ἐγνώριζε ὅτ' ἄσχημον ἔν ἐτοῦτο ὀπ' ὁρίζεις,
νὰ λέγεσαι ἐσὺ θεὸς κ' ἐμένα γιὰ νὰ βρίζῃς·
καὶ τοῦτα γὰρ οἱ βασιλεῖς ποσῶς δὲν τὰ 'ρευνοῦσι,
οὐδὲν ἀλαζονεύονται νὰ λέγουν τὶ νικοῦσι.
Λέγεις ἐσὺ κ' εἶσαι θεὸς καὶ σύνθρονος ἡλίου,
τ' ὁποῖον θάνατον χρωστεῖς κ' εἶσαι τοῦ μακελείου.
'Εγὼ ὁ ἄνθρωπος φθαρτὸς θὲ νὰ σὲ πολεμήσω,
καὶ ἔρχομαι ἀπάνου σου, θέλω νά σ' ἀφανίσω·
λοιπὸν τὴν ἄνω πρόνοιαν περίσσια τὴν δοξάζω,
'ξ ἐκείνην ἔχω τὴν βουλὴ νὰ 'λθῶ νὰ σὲ πειράζω.
Καὶ τὴ γραφὴ ποὺ μὄστειλες, οἱ πάντες τὴν γρικῆσαν,
τὰ λόγια ὁπού ἔγραψες, ὅλοι τους τὰ 'ρευνῆσαν·
καὶ ἔστειλές μας τὸ λοιπὸν χρυσάφι γιὰ νὰ φᾶμε,
ὁποῖο καὶ μᾶς ἔγραφες ὀπίσω γιὰ νὰ πᾶμε·
οἱ Μακεδόνες ἔρχονται μὲ καθαρὰ καρδία,
ἔμαθαν τ' εἶσαι πλούσιος κ' ἔρχονται στὴν Περσία.
Ἂ σὲ νικήσω τὸ λοιπόν, θέλ' ἀκουστῆ μεγάλος,
νὰ μὴ σταθῆ τινὰς μ' ἐμὲν νὰ πολεμήσῃ ἄλλος·
καὶ ἂν νικήσῃς σὺ ἐμέν, ὀλίγον ἔν δαμάκι,
διότι δὲν ἐνίκησες, σὰν γράφεις, μὸν παιδάκι·

718 αὐθέντισας || Post 728 (728a) 'Επιστολὴ ποὺ ἔστειλε 'Αλέξανδρος τοῦ Δαρείου (titulus) || 731 βασιλεῖ 1529, corrigunt edd. recent.

καὶ τοῦτο σὺ τὸ ἔγραψες εἰς τὴν ἐπιστολή σου,
παιδὶ μικρὸ μὲ ἔγραφες μὲ ὅλην τὴν βουλή σου.
Καὶ ἔστειλές μου καὶ ῥαβδὶ μετ' αὔτο νὰ σὲ τύψω,
τὰ κόκκαλά σου μετ' αὐτὸ ὅλα νὰ τὰ συντρίψω·
καὶ τὸ σφυρὶ ποὺ μὄπεψες, νὰ στέκῃ στεριωμένη
ἡ αὐθεντιά μου δυνατὰ σ' ὅλην τὴν οἰκουμένη·
καὶ τὸ χρυσάφι τὸ λοιπὸν σημεῖον γιὰ νὰ γένῃ,
νὰ μὲ τελῇ ὁ τόπος σου, δουκάτα νὰ μοῦ φέρνῃ.»
Κι ἀπῆτις τὴν ἀπόγραψε, πιάνει καὶ τὴν βουλώνει,
κ' ἐκείνην πρὸς τὸν Δάρειον γλήγορα τὴν βγοδώνει.
Κι ἀποκρισάρους ἄρχοντες ἔστειλε μετὰ κείνη,
ἐπῆραν τὴν ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς Δάρειον ἐκεῖνοι.
Ὁ Δάρειος ἀνάγνωσε ἐκεῖνο τὸ πιτάκι,
κ' ἐγνώρισε Ἀλέξανδρον ὅτι δὲν ἔν παιδάκι·
ἐγνώρισε ὁ Δάρειος ὅτι ἔναι τιμημένος
Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ τολμηρός, μάλιστα κι ἀντρωμένος.
Κ' ἐπιστολὴ ἀπέστειλε νά 'νιαι ὀρδινιασμένοι,
εἰς τοὺς σατράπας Δάρειος, γιὰ νά 'νιαι βγοδωμένοι·
«Βασιλεὺς μέγας Δάρειος, γράφω τὸν ὁρισμόν μου,
πέβω καὶ χαιρετίσματα εἰς ὅλον τὸν λαόν μου.
Ἔμαθα τὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ἦλθ' ἐκ Μακεδονία,
καὶ ἦλθε εἰς τὸ σταύρωμα καὶ πιάνει τὰ βουνία·
λοιπὸν αὐτὸς τὲς χῶρες μου ὁλόγυρα γυρίζει,
ἕνας ληστὴς ὡσὰν αὐτὸν νὰ τὲς περιορίζῃ.
Ἀρματωθῆτε δυνατά, σύρετε μὲ μανία,
ὡς γιὰ νὰ μὴ γυρίσουσι ὅλοι 'ς Μακεδονία·
κ' ἔχετε τὰ φουσάτα σας καλὰ εὐοδωμένα,
Ἀλέξανδρον νὰ πιάσετε, νὰ στείλετε σ' ἐμένα·
καὶ ὅλοι οἱ στρατιῶτες του ἂς εἶν περιορισμένοι,
στὴν Ἐρυθρὰν τὴν Θάλασσαν νὰ πᾶν σιδερωμένοι,
καὶ τ' ἄλογα καὶ τ' ἅρματα νὰ εἶναι ἐδικά σας,
αὐτεῖνα πάρετε ἐσεῖς, ἂς εἶναι μερασιά σας.»
Σὰν ἀναγνῶσαν τὴν γραφήν, εἶπαν διὰ νὰ γένῃ
γραφὴ ἄλλη στὸν Δάρειον γλήγορα νὰ παγαίνῃ·
«Ὅλοι οἱ στρατιῶτες σου πάντες σὲ προσκυνοῦμε,
τὸ γράμμα ποὺ μᾶς ἔστειλες ὅλοι μας τὸ γρικοῦμε.

Post 770 (770a) Ἐπιστολὴ Δαρείου εἰς τοὺς σατράπας αὐτοῦ (titulus) || 773 ἦλθεσ-μακεδονία corr. || Post 786 (786a) Περὶ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἣν ἀπέστειλαν οἱ στρατιῶτες τοῦ Δαρείου (titulus) || 787 ὅλιο 1529

Θαυμάζομέστε τὸ λοιπὸν ὅλοι στὴν ἀφεντιά σου,
ὀπ' ἄφηκες τὸν τόπον σου καὶ δὲν πονεῖ ⟨ἡ⟩ καρδιά σου·
καὶ πάσα μέρα εἰς ἐμᾶς ἔρχουνται Μακεδόνοι,
ἀνδρειωμένοι, τολμηροί, τίς νὰ τοὺς ἀπομένῃ;
Καὶ γράφεις μας νὰ πάγωμε αὐτεῖνον γιὰ νὰ πιάσου,
κ' ἐμεῖς σὲ συβουλεύομε νά 'λθῃ ἡ αὐθεντιά σου,
καὶ νὰ συνάξῃς δύναμιν καὶ ὅλον τὸν λαόν σου,
νά 'λθῃς τὸ γληγορώτερο νὰ διώξῃς τὸν ἐχθρόν σου.»
Γρικώντας κεῖνα Δάρειος, εἶπε διὰ νὰ γένῃ
ἐπιστολὴ ἐγλήγορα, γιὰ νά 'ναι γεναμένη.
«Βασιλεὺς μέγας Δάρειος ⟨'ς⟩ σατράπας γράφ' εἰρήνη·
ἐθάρρουν κ' ἔχετε σ' ἐμὲ μεγάλη μπιστοσύνη·
καὶ γράφω σας νὰ ξεύρετε, εἴτι καὶ ἃ ζημιώσῃ
Ἀλέξανδρος στὸν τόπον μου, θέλει μοῦ τὰ πληρώσει,
διότις δὲν ηὑρίσκεστε σ' ἐμένα δουλωμένοι·
καὶ ποιοί σας εἰς τὸ πόλεμον βρίσκονται λαβωμένοι;
Καὶ ἔγραψά σας τὸ λοιπὸν αὐτεῖνον γιὰ νὰ πιάστε.
Νά 'λθω αὐτοῦ μοῦ γράφετε, θέλετε νὰ μὲ ντροπιάστε.
Μὲ ποιὸν ἀφέντη τὸ λοιπόν, μὲ ποῖον βασιλέα,
μ' ἕνα ληστὴν μὲ κράζετε νὰ κάμω τὴ μαλέα;
Κάθεστε, ἀναπεύεστε, κ' ὕστερα θὲ νὰ ποίσω,
ὅσοι δὲν ἀναγκάζουσι νὰ πιάσω νὰ φουρκίσω.»
Γραφὴν ἐτούτη ἔστειλε στὲς ἐδικές του χῶρες,
ὅλοι γιὰ ν' ἀναγκάζωνται νύκτες καὶ τὲς ἡμέρες·
ἐγρίκησε Ἀλέξανδρος ὅτι κοντὰ κοντεύει·
γραφὴ ἔκαμεν ὁ Δάρειος, καὶ τότε τοῦ τὴν πέβει.
«Βασιλεὺς μέγας Δάρειος, σ' ὅλους τετιμημένος,
λανθάνεσαι, Ἀλέξανδρε, καὶ εἶσαι κομπωμένος·
καὶ σὲ λανθάνει, Ἀλέξανδρε, πῶς εἶμ' ἐγὼ μεγάλος,
στὸν κόσμον ὅλον τὸ λοιπὸν ποὺ δὲν ηὑρίσκετ' ἄλλος·
δὲ σ' ἀπαντᾶ, Ἀλέξανδρε, ἐκεῖ γιὰ ν' ἀφεντεύῃς,
στὴν χώρα τὴν Μακεδονιά, μὰ δῶ 'ρθες καὶ γυρεύεις·
κ' ἔπιασες καὶ ἐμάζωξες αὐτείνους ποὺ σοῦ μοιάζου,
κι αὐτεῖνοι οἱ ταλαίπωροι μ' ἐσένα ὁμονοιάζου.
Τὸν ἑαυτόν σου τὸ λοιπὸν κηρύττεις βασιλέα,

790 μπονῇ edd. | ⟨ἡ⟩ supplevi || Post 798 (798a) Ἐπιστολὴ Δαρείου ἣν ἀπέστειλε εἰς σατράπας (titulus) || 804 ποίσας || 812 γιὰ ν' ἀναγκάζωνται: διαναγκάζονται emendavi || Post 814 (814a) Ἐπιστολὴ ἣν ἀπέστειλε Δάρειος Ἀλεξάνδρου (titulus) || 817 καί: δὲν emendavi

ζητᾶς, θέλεις τὲς χῶρες μου καὶ κάμνεις καὶ μαλέα.
Κακόφρονε 'Αλέξανδρε, τί ἔναι τὸ γυρεύεις;
Γύρισε εἰς τὸ σπίτι σου νὰ πάγης ν' ἀφεντεύης.
'Ομνέω σου εἰς τοὺς θεούς, τίποτα νὰ μὴν ποίσω,
κ' ἐκεῖνα ὁποὺ μὅσφαλες νὰ σοῦ τὰ συμπαθήσω.»
Γρικώντας ὁ 'Αλέξανδρος ποσῶς δὲν ἐσαλεύθη,
μάλλιο 'ξ ἐκεῖνο πού 'τονε περσότερον ἐχθρεύθη·
κ' οἱ Πέρσες ἐγρικήσασι τὶ 'Αλέξανδρος ἐμπαίνει,
λοιπὸν ὅλοι στὸν πόλεμον ἦσαν ὀρδινιασμένοι·
καὶ τὰ δραπανοάμαξα εἶχαν ὀρδινιασμένα,
σὲ τόπον ἐπιτήδειον τὰ εἴχασι βαλμένα·
κι ὀρδινιασμένοι ἤσασι σ' αὐτὸ τοὺς 'Αμαζόνους
γιὰ νὰ τοὺς ἀπολύσουσι ἀπάνω 'ς Μακεδόνους
κι ἄλλο φουσάτ' ἀρμάτωσαν, ὅμορφα βοδωμένο,
τὴν τάξιν ὅλην τῆς στρατιᾶς ἦτον διαρμηνεμένο·
κ' ἐπαραγγεῖλαν ὁλωνῶν, σὰν βούκινο βαρέση,
τότε νὰ κάμη πασαεὶς ἐκεῖνο ποὺ μπορέση.
Σὰν ἔφτασε 'Αλέξανδρος, τὰ βούκινα βαροῦσι,
'κ τὰ δύο μέρη κονδαρὲς ὅλοι τους νὰ κτυποῦσι.
Καὶ ἐσκοτώθησαν πολλοί, νέοι καὶ παλικάρια,
ὁποὺ τοὺς ἐκτυπούσασι στὸ στῆθος μὲ κοντάρια·
στ' ἄλογ' ἀνέβ' 'Αλέξανδρος κ' εἶπε διὰ ν' ἀρχίσουν
οἱ σάλπιγγες γιὰ νὰ λαλοῦν, διὰ νὰ πολεμήσουν.
Βοὴ ἐγένετο πολλὴ ἀνθρώπων καὶ κτημάτων,
ποὺ τέτοιο πρᾶμα κανενεὶς ποτὲ δὲν τὸ θυμᾶτον·
παιγνίδια τότ' ἐπαίξασι ὁμοῦ κι ἀνακαράδες,
τότες ἐπολεμήσασι αὐτεῖνοι οἱ ὁμάδες·
καὶ τότες ἐσυνέκρουσαν πρῶτα μετὰ κονδάρια,
τὰ παλικάρια ἤβλεπε· ὁπού 'τανε καθάρια·
καὶ τὰ κονδάρια τρίφθησαν σ' ἐκείνη τὴ μπασία,
καὶ τὰ σπαθία βγάλασι, κάμνουν ματοχυσία.
Πολὺν καιρὸν ἐμάχονταν τότες καὶ ἐκτυποῦσαν,
τὰ ἅρματα 'κ τὲς κοπανὲς ἐκεῖν' ἀντιλαλοῦσαν·
κι ὁ Δάρειος ἐστέκετον ἀπάνω εἰς τ' ἀμάξι,
εἰς τόπον στέκετον ψηλά, τηρᾶ κατὰ τὴν τάξη.
'Εστάθηκεν 'Αλέξανδρος κ' εἶπε· «Ὦ παλικάρια,

Post 842 (842a) Δαρείου πόλεμος πρῶτος (titulus)

ὅλοι ἂς σταματήσωμε ἐτοῦτα τὰ κονδάρια.
'Εμεῖς λύκοι λεγόμεσθεν, πρόβατ' αὐτοὶ λογοῦνται,
ὅλους ἂς τοὺς σκοτώσωμε, πλέο νὰ μὴ καυχοῦνται.»
Καὶ τότες πάλι ἔλεγε· «Στρατιῶτες Μακεδόνες,
νὰ τιμηθοῦμε σήμερον, νὰ βγοῦμε μὲ κορόνες.»
Καὶ τότες ἐχυμήσασι μὲ καθαρὰ καρδία,
οἱ Πέρσες ἐτσακίζονταν κ' ἐκάμνασι μερία·
φουσάτο γὰρ τὸ πέρσικο ἦτον πολλὰ μεγάλο,
στὸν κόσμον ὅλον τὸ λοιπὸν οὐδὲν ηὑρίσκετ' ἄλλο·
κ' ἐκάμαν ἀνακάτωμα τότε πολλὰ μεγάλο,
ποὺ δὲν ἐγνώριζε τινὰς ἕναν ἀπὸ τὸν ἄλλο·
καὶ δὲν ἐγνωριζόντανε ποιοί 'ναι οἱ Μακεδόνοι,
οἱ Πέρσες ἐσκοτίσθησαν κ' ἤσανε τρομασμένοι·
καὶ δὲν ἐγνώριζες ἐκεῖ πεζὸν ἢ καβελάρη,
κι ὁπού 'τον ἄνδρας ἐδεκεῖ ἐτσάκιζε κονδάρι·
οὔτε τὴ γῆ ἐβλέπασι οὐδ' οὐρανὸν ἀπάνου,
ἀπὸ τὸν τόσον κορνιακτὸν τὸ φῶς τους ὅλοι χάνου.
Καὶ ὅλοι ἐκ τὲς κοπανὲς ἔμειναν δειλιασμένοι,
ἡ νύκτα τοὺς ἐβόθησε κ' ἐφύγαν οἱ καημένοι.
Κ' οἱ Πέρσες ἐφοβήθηκαν, φεύγουν οἱ ὀργισμένοι,
εἰς τὰ κλαδία μπαίνασι κ' ἐστέκαν μουλωμένοι.
'Εβλέποντα ὁ Δάρειος κατέβη ἐκ τ' ἀμάξι,
ἐκ τὴν πολλή του τὴν πρικιὰ ἦτονε νὰ πλαντάξη·
ἄλογο ηὗρε γλήγορο κι ἀπάνου τ' ἀνιβαίνει,
καὶ φεύγει ὁ κακότυχος καὶ πλιὸ δὲν ἀνιμένει.
'Αλέξανδρος τοὺς ἔδιωξε κ' ἐπιάσε τὴ μητέρα
τοῦ Δάρειου καὶ τὴν γυνὴ καὶ μιά του θυγατέρα.
'Ενίκησεν 'Αλέξανδρος κ' ἐβγῆκε τιμημένος,
καὶ Δάρειος ὁ ταπεινὸς ἔμεινε κομπωμένος·
κ' ἐπαίρνει τὸ φουσάτο του 'Αλέξανδρος νὰ πᾶσι,
εἰς χώραν Μήδων διάβηκε κι αὐτείνους ὑποτάσσει.
'Ο τόπος ἦτον ἄνυδρος κ' ἤλθασι νὰ πλαντάξουν
ἀπὸ τὴν πεῖνα ὅλοι τους, στό 'τοιμο νὰ λιμάξουν·
στὴν στράτα ηὕρασι νερὸ κ' ἔπιαν ὅπού διψοῦσα,
ἀπὸ τὴν πεῖνα τὴν πολλὴν ἐξ αὔτους ἐσκοτῶσα.
Καὶ ὅρισεν 'Αλέξανδρος κ' εἶπε διὰ νὰ σφάξουν
τὰ ἄλογά τους γιὰ νὰ φᾶν, ὡς γιὰ νὰ μὴ λιμάξουν.

860 ἀσταματίσομε || 870 ἕνας emendavi || 871 ποίναι || 890 αὐτείνος corr.

'Εσφάξασι τὰ ἄλογα, πιάνουν καὶ τὰ τρῶσιν,
898 καὶ ὅλοι ἐχορτάσασι ἐξ ἐκεινῶν τὴν βρῶσιν.
901 Εἶπαν οἱ στρατιῶτες του σὲ τοῦτο· «Τί νὰ γένη,
902 ποὺ φάγαμε τὰ ἄλογα, ὁποὺ 'μαστεν χρειασμένοι;»
899 Καὶ εἶπεν ὁ 'Αλέξανδρος· «Εἴμαστεν χορτασμένοι
900 ἀπὸ τὴν πεῖναν τὴν πολλήν, πού 'μαστεν πεινασμένοι.
903 Λοιπὸν ἀναγκαιότερον ἔναι γιὰ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους,
καὶ τοῦτο ἔναι φανερὸ μετὰ πολλοὺς τοὺς τρόπους.
Λοιπὸν διὰ τὰ ἄλογα δὲν εἴμαστεν χρειασμένοι,
γιατὶ ἂ δὲν τὰ τρώγαμε ἤμαστ' ἀποθαμένοι.
Καὶ ἄλογα ηὑρίσκομεν σὲ τόπον τὸν καθένα,
καὶ στρατιῶτες περισσοὺς νὰ 'λθοῦσι μετὰ μένα.
Τώρα ἂν ἔλθη εἰς ἐμᾶς φουσάτο, ἐγρικοῦμε
πρὸς τὴν καρδιὰν ποὺ ἔχομεν πεζοὶ νὰ τοὺς δεχθοῦμε.
"Ας κάμωμε ξυλόκαστρο μέσα διὰ νὰ μποῦμε,
ὅσο νὰ 'λθῆ βοήθεια γιὰ νὰ βοηθηθοῦμε·
ἐγὼ ἀνθρώπους ἔπεψα ποὺ πᾶνε ταχυτέρου
στοὺς τόπους ὁποὺ πῆραμε, βοήθεια νὰ μᾶς φέρου.»
Σὲ δύο μέρες τὸ λοιπὸν 'Αλέξανδρος ἐδιάβη,
εἰς τόπον ἐκατέβηκε, ὁποὺ 'τονε λιβάδι·
καὶ τοῦ Δαρείου ἄλογα ἦταν ἐκεῖ βαλμένα,
χιλιάδες ἦσανε πολλὲς κ' ἦσαν καλὰ θρεμμένα.
Τότες οἱ στρατιῶτες του αὐτὰ καβαλικεῦσαν,
εἰς τὸν 'Αφράτη ποταμὸν ἐπῆγαν κ' ἐπεζεῦσαν.
Καὶ εἶπεν ὁ 'Αλέξανδρος νὰ κάμη ἡ στρατιά του,
τὸν ποταμὸν γιὰ νὰ περνοῦν ὁρίζ' ἡ ἀφεντιά του.
Γρικώντα ὁ 'Αλέξανδρος φοβοῦνται Μακεδόνες,
εἶπε· «"Ας ἀπεράσουσι τ' ἁμάξια κ' οἱ κατόνες.»
Καὶ πάλι ἐφοβοῦντανε, μὴν πέση τὸ γιοφύρι
καὶ τὸ νερὸν τοῦ ποταμοῦ γένη σ' αὐτοὺς κιβούρι.
'Αλέξανδρος σηκώθηκε κ' εἶπε διὰ νὰ ποίση,
οἱ στρατιῶτες κι ὁ λαὸς νὰ τὸν ἀκολουθήση.
'Αρχίνησε 'Αλέξανδρος πρῶτος γιὰ νὰ περνάη,
τὸν ποταμὸν ἀπέρασε κι ὀμπρὸς ἀτός του πάει·
κι ἄλλο ποτάμ' ἀπέρασε μ' ὅλη του τὴ στρατεία,

899-902 Ordinem distichorum mutavi, sed utriusque primum hemistichium fere retinui. Editiones habent: | (899) Καὶ εἶπεν ὁ 'Αλέξανδρος· «Εἴμαστεν κτλ. || (901) Εἶπε τους· «Στρατιῶτες μου, σὲ τοῦτο κτλ. ||907 κεαὶ 1529 || 924 περάσουσι emend. metri gratia

κι ἀντίπερα περάσασι στὴ Μεσοποταμία.
'Απῆτις πέρα ἔσωσαν καὶ ὅλοι ἀπεράσαν,
ὅρισε τὰ γιοφύρια τότες καὶ τὰ χαλάσαν·
καὶ ὅλοι ἐπικραίνονταν αὐτοὶ οἱ στρατιῶται·
τὶ ἂν τοὺς ἔλθη τσακισμός, νὰ φύγουσι ποῦ τότε;
'Απεκρίθη 'Αλέξανδρος καὶ εἶπε· «Στρατιῶτες,
γιὰ τσακισμὸν σεῖς λέγετε, νὰ φεύγετε ἐτότες;
Γιατί δὲν λογαριάζετε τὶ θέλομε νικήσει,
μὰ λέγετε· 'Νικοῦνε μας' - ὁ Θιὸς νὰ μὴν τὸ 'ρίση.
Καὶ τὰ γιοφύρια χάλασα πρόθυμα νὰ κτυπᾶτε,
μηδὲν τὸ λογαριάζετε ὀπίσω γιὰ νὰ πᾶτε.
'Ο πόλεμος γὰρ δὲ φελᾶ ὁπὄναι τῶν φευγόντων, -
μὰ τιμημένος βρίσκεται πὄναι τῶν διωκόντων.
Λοιπὸν γινώσκετ', ἀδελφοί, τὶ θέλομε νικήσει,
καὶ πασαεὶς στὸ σπίτι του γλήγορα θὲ γυρίσει.»
'Ετοῦτα εἶπ' 'Αλέξανδρος κ' ἐθρασοποίησέ τους,
προθύμους εἰς τὸν πόλεμον μὲ λόγους ἔκαμέ τους.
'Επῆγαν καὶ ἀπέζευσαν στὸν ποταμὸν τὸν Τίγρη,
ἐκεῖ ἐκάμασι καιρόν, γιατ' ἦτον ποτιστήρι.
'Ανθρώπους ἐκ τοὺς Πέρσεας πέντέ 'δαν ταχυτέρου,
ὅρισεν ὁ 'Αλέξανδρος ὀμπρός του νὰ τοὺς φέρου·
οἱ Μακεδόνες ἔδραμαν γλήγορα μὴν τοὺς χάσου,
κ' ἐκεῖνοι ἐκρυφθήκανε εἰς μιὰ μεριὰ τοῦ δάσου.
Εἰς Πέρσης γὰρ τοῦ Δάρειου τὲς φορεσὲς τ' ἀλλάσσει
μὲ ροῦχα μακεδονικὰ ἐκείνους νὰ γελάση
καὶ τὸ τσεκούρ' ἀσήκουσε τοῦ βασιλιῶς νὰ δώση.
Εἰς τὸ κεφάλι τό 'δωσε, γιὰ νὰ τὸν θανατώση.
Στοῦ 'Αλεξάνδρου βρέθηκε στὴν κεφαλὴν κασίδι,
τὴν κοπανιὰ δὲν ἔχρηξε ἐκείνη ποὺ τοῦ δίδει.
Τὸν στρατιώτην ἔπιασαν, σ' 'Αλέξανδρον ὑπᾶνε,
οἱ Μακεδόνες ἔδραμαν ὅλοι νὰ τόνε φᾶνε.
Εἶπε του ὁ 'Αλέξανδρος· «Τί τόλμη γὰρ ἐποῖκες,
ὁπού 'ρθες καὶ μοῦ βάρεσες καὶ δὲν ἐφοβηθῆκες;»
'Απιλογήθ' ὁ στρατηγός· «'Εγώ 'μαι δουλωμένος
τ' ἀφέντη μου τοῦ Δάρειου, κ' εἶμαι ἐδῶ σταλμένος·

Post 932 (932a) Περὶ τὸ πῶς ἐχάλασε τὸ γιοφύρι ὁ 'Αλέξανδρος τῆς Μεσοποταμίας (titulus) || 940 κικούνεμας corr. || 953 μακεδόνας corr. || Post 954 (954a) Περὶ ὅταν ἕνας στρατιώτης τοῦ Δαρείου ἄλλαξε τὴν φορεσιά του καὶ ἐπῆγε εἰς τὸ φουσάτο τοῦ 'Αλεξάνδρου (titulus)

καὶ εἶπε μου ὁ Δάρειος τὶ ἃ σὲ θανατώσω,
'ἐγὼ τὴ θυγατέρα μου γυναίκα νὰ σοῦ δώσω'.
Ἂν πάρω τὸ κεφάλι σου, εἶπε μου νὰ μετέχω
στὴν βασιλειά του χάρισμα, πατέρα νὰ τὸν ἔχω.»
Ἀκούοντα Ἀλέξανδρος σύναξε τὴ στρατιά του,
μέσα στὴ μέσ' ἐστάθηκε κ' εἶπε τὴ συντυχιά του.
Κ' εἶπε· «Κ' ἐσεῖς, στρατιῶτες μου, ἔτσι νὰ μὴ φοβάστε
γιὰ τὴν τιμὴν τὸν θάνατον, καὶ νὰ τόνε θυμάστε.»
Καὶ τοῦτο εἶπ' Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ τότε τὸν ἀφήνει,
καὶ χάρισμα εὐγενικὸν ἐκείνου γὰρ τοῦ δίνει.
Καὶ τὸ φουσάτο πού 'τονε ἐκεῖ τὸ τοῦ Δαρείου
σηκώθηκε καὶ ἔφυγε κι αὐτεῖνο πισαυρίου.
Ἀπόμεινε Ἀλέξανδρος σ' ἐκεῖνον γὰρ τὸν τόπον,
καὶ ἀναπαύτη ἡ στρατιὰ ἐκ τὸν περίσσιον κόπον.
Καὶ ἄλλος ἐκ τοῦ Δάρειου σ' Ἀλέξανδρον παγαίνει·
«Δάρειον,» λέγει, «δούλευσα κι αὐτὸς δὲν μὲ πληρώνει·
κ' ἦλθα στὴν αὐθεντία σου φουσάτο νὰ 'ρδινιάσω,
χιλιάδες δέκα στρατηγούς, νὰ πὰ νὰ τόνε πιάσω.»
Εἶπε του ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος· «Πήγαινε τὴ δουλειά σου,
ποτὲ εἰς τὸν αὐθέντη σου μὴν ἔναι πιβουλιά σου.
Ἐπειδὴ τὸν ἀφέντη σου θέλεις νὰ παραδώσης,
κρένω καλὸν στὸν θάνατον νὰ μὴν τὸν ἀποδώσης.»
Αὐτεῖνον ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ποσῶς δὲν τὸν ἐδέχθη,
μὰ μέσα ἡ καρδία του περίσσια τὸν ἐμέφθη.
Οἱ στρατηγοὶ τοῦ Δάρειου ἐκάμαν νὰ ξορθώσουν
ἐπιστολὴ τ' ἀφέντη τους γουργὰ νὰ τὸν τὴν δώσουν.
«Εἰς τὸν ἀφέντη τὸν ἡμῶν, Δάρειον τιμημένο,
ἐμεῖς γιὰ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον σ' ἔχομε μηνημένο·
καὶ πάλι γράφομέ·σου το, ὅτ' ἦλθε καὶ κουρσεύει,
τὲς χῶρες ὁποὺ ἔχομε αὐτεῖνος τὲς γυρεύει.
Ἐπολεμήσαμε μ' αὐτὸν καὶ ὅλους μας σκοτώνει,
ἀπόλιγον ἀπόλιγον ὅλους μας θανατώνει.
Ἔλα τὸ γληγορώτερο, προυτοῦ αὐτοῦ νὰ σώση,

969 πάγω corr. ‖ 973-4 φοβάστε-θυμάστε inter se permutavi ‖ Post 980 (980a) Περὶ τὸ πῶς ἐπῆγε ἕτερος στρατιώτης τοῦ Δαρείου εἰς Ἀλέξανδρον (titulus) ‖ 978 'σικόθη δὲ corr. ‖ 988 στὸν: τὸν corr. ‖ 990 ἐμέμφη edd., corr. ‖ Post 990 (990a) Ἐπιστολὴ ἣν ἀπέστειλεν ὁ στρατηγὸς Δαρείου πρὸς Δάρειον (titulus) ‖ 991-4 Hos versus e singulari in pluralem transtuli; fuerunt Ὁ στρατηγὸς ... ἔκαμε ... του ... ἐμὸν ... ἐγὼ ... σοῦ ἔχω. ‖ 993 τιμημένον corr.

καὶ μὴν ἀφήσης τὸν λαὸν νὰ τόνε θανατώση.
Ἤξευρε, τὸ φουσάτο του πολλά 'ναι ἀνδρωμένο,
καὶ τολμηρὸ καὶ φοβερό, περίσσια μανιωμένο.»
Ἀκούοντας ὁ Δάρειος Ἀλέξανδρος κοντεύει,
ἔκαμε γλήγορα γραφή, εἰς αὔτονε τὴν πέβει.
Κ' ἔγραφεν ἔτσι ἡ γραφή· «Ὀλπίζεις νὰ νικήσης;
Γιατὶ ἔπιασες τὴν μάνα μου, λέγεις νὰ μ' ἀφανίσης;
Κ' ἐγὼ δὲν τό 'χω τίποτες, μὸν νά 'ναι ἡ κεφαλή μου
καλά, καὶ ἡ στρατεία μου νὰ στέκη στὴν βουλή μου.
Κι ἃς τάξω μάν' ἀπέθανε, θυγάτηρ οὐ γεννήθη,
καὶ ἡ γυναίκα, ἃς εἰπῶ, μ' ἐμὲν οὐκ εὐλογήθη·
ὅμως στεῖλε μ' ἀπόφαση, τί θέλεις νὰ ποιήσης,
κι ἃ βούλεσαι γιὰ νὰ ἐλθῆς μ' ἐμὲ νὰ πολεμήσης.»
Ὡς τ' ἄκουσεν Ἀλέξανδρος, ἐπόνεσ' ἡ καρδιά του,
εἶπε· «Γραφὴ γιὰ νὰ γενῆ νὰ 'λέγξω τὴ λωλιά του.»
«Βασιλεὺς Ἀλέξανδρος, Δαρείου γὰρ ἐμήνει,
τὲς φλυαρίες σου ὁ Θιὸς οὐ θέλει τὲς πομείνει.
Οὐδὲν σοῦ πρέπει τὸ λοιπὸν αὐτεῖνα γιὰ ν' ἀρχίζης,
γιατὶ τὴν φαμελία σου λέγεις τὶ δὲν τὴν χρήζεις.
Ἀμὴ γιὰ τὴ γυναίκα σου, μάνα καὶ θυγατέρα,
ἐγὼ λέγω νὰ θλίβεσαι γι' αὐτεῖνες κάθ' ἡμέρα.
Καὶ τὴν δική σου πόληψη καθένας τήνε βρίζει,
γιατὶ τὴν ἀσπλαγχνία σου ὁ κόσμος τὴν γνωρίζει.
Κι ἃς τὲς ἐπόνειες τὸ λοιπὸν ὡς σκλάβες ἐδικές σου·
ἀλλ' οἱ θεοὶ νὰ κρίνουσι ἐσὲν τὲς ἀδικιές σου.
Γνώρισε, τὸ κεφάλι σου γλήγορα νὰ τὸ χάσης,
γιατὶ τὴν φαμελία σου, λέγεις, οὐδὲν τὴν τάσσεις.
Καὶ γράφεις μου πρὸς τὸ παρὸν τί θέλω νὰ ποιήσω,
ἤξευρε τὶ ἀπάνου σου θέλω γιὰ νὰ κινήσω.»
Τοῦτά 'γραψεν Ἀλέξανδρος, συνάσσει τὴ στρατιά του
νὰ πάγη εἰς τὸν πόλεμον, νὰ κάμη τὴ δουλειά του.
Καὶ τότε ἔκαμε γραφὴ νὰ πάγη στὴν Φραγκία,
γιὰ νὰ τοῦ πέψουν τὸ λοιπὸν ἐκεῖθεν ὀρδινία.
«Βασιλεὺς Ἀλέξανδρος, ⟨'ς⟩ σατράπας τῆς Φραγκίας,
Καππαδοκίας καὶ ὁμοῦ πάσης τῆς Ἀρμενίας,

Post 1004 (1004a) Ἐπιστολὴ Δαρείου ἣν ἔστειλε πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον (titulus) ‖ 1007 μονάνε, corr. ‖ Post 1014 (1014a) Ἐπιστολὴ ὁποὺ ἀπέστειλεν Ἀλέξανδρος τοῦ Δαρείου (titulus) ‖ 1024 ἀδικαὶς corr. ‖ Post 1032 (1032a) Ἐπιστολὴ Ἀλεξάνδρου ποὺ ἔστειλε στὴν Φραγκία (titulus) ‖ 1033 ⟨'ς⟩ supplevi

ροῦχα γιὰ νὰ μοῦ κάμετε σ' αὐτὴν τὴν 'Αραβία,
γλήγορα νὰ τὰ στείλετε εἰς τὴν 'Αντιοχεία.
Στεῖλτε προβατοντύματα γλήγορα γιὰ νὰ 'λθοῦσι,
καὶ στείλετε καὶ ἅρματα, ὅσα καὶ ἂν βρεθοῦσι·
χίλια καμήλια στείλετε, κι ἂς εἶν κυβερνισμένα,
καὶ πέψετέ τα γλήγορα κι ἂς ἔλθουν εἰς ἐμένα·
καὶ νὰ σᾶς εὕρῃ μὲ ὑγειὰ γλήγορα ἡ γραφή μου,
νά 'στε στὴ δουλοσύνη μου κ' εἰς τὴν ὑποταγή μου.»
Ἕνας σατράπης Δάρειου, ἦτονε δημηγέρτης,
ἔγραψεν εἰς τὸν Δάρειον καταλεπτῶς ἐδέτις·
«Γνώρισ', αὐθέντη βασιλιά, ἐκείνους περιορίζει,
τοὺς δυὸ σατράπας πὄστειλες 'Αλέξανδρος φουρκίζει.
Καὶ ὁ Κοιξάρης τὸ λοιπὸν στὸ σπίτι του παγαίνει,
καὶ λαβωμένος βρίσκεται, δὲν ἠμπορεῖ πομένει.
'Ο Νεανίας τὸ λοιπὸν κ' οἱ πρῶτοι ὁποὺ ἦσαν
ἐπῆγαν στὸν 'Αλέξανδρον μὲ κάστρη ποὺ κρατοῦσαν.»
Σὰν τ' ἄκουσεν ὁ Δάρειος, εἶπε γιὰ νὰ 'τοιμάζου
καὶ τὴν στρατιὰ καὶ τὸν λαόν, γιὰ νὰ τὴν ὀρδινιάζου.
Γράφει κ' εἰς ἄλλους βασιλεῖς na 'λθοῦν 'ς βοήθειάν του,
νὰ πάγῃ εἰς τὸν πόλεμον νὰ κάμῃ τὴ δουλειάν του·
«Σ' ἐσένα, Πῶρο βασιλεῦ, σήμερον ἐπροεῖδα,
ἐγὼ Δάρειος βρίσκομαι στὴν ἐδική σ' ὀλπίδα.
Λοιπὸν καὶ τοῦτα γράφω σου, τὰ ποιὰ δὲ σὲ λαθαίνουν,
οἱ χῶρες μου 'ξ 'Αλέξανδρον τὸ τί κακὸ παθαίνουν.
Λοιπόν, ἂν εἶσαι φίλος μου, τώρα νὰ μοῦ βοθήσῃς
παρακαλῶ σε γλήγορα καὶ νὰ μηδὲν ἀργήσῃς.»
'Ο Πῶρος τότε θέλησεν γιὰ νὰ τὸν κατατάξῃ,
γραφὴ κι αὐτεῖνος ἔστειλε τότε κατὰ τὴν τάξη.
«Πῶρος ὁ μέγας βασιλεὺς σ' ἐσὲν Περσῶν Δαρείῳ.
Λοιπὸν κακὸ μοῦ φαίνεται τοῦτο τὸ μαρτυρίο.
'Ηθέλησα νὰ 'λθῶ αὐτοῦ γιὰ νὰ συβουλευτοῦμε,
μὰ τώρα εἶμαι ἀσθενὴς 'ς κρεβάτι καὶ κοιμοῦμαι·
μὲ τὸ κορμί μου δὲν μπορῶ νὰ 'λθῶ 'ς βοήθειά σου,
λοιπὸν φουσάτο ἔπαρε καὶ κάμε τὴ δουλειά σου.»
'Ως τ' ἄκουσεν ὁ Δάρειος, σὲ πόλεμ' ἀγωνιέται,
μὲ Μακεδόνες ἤθελε πάλι γιὰ ν' ἀπαντιέται.

1037 στεΰ̓λετε corr. mvtri gratia || Post 1054 (1054a) 'Επιστολὴ ποὺ ἔστειλε Δάρειος εἰς Πῶρον βασιλέαν (titulus) || Post 1062 (1062a) 'Επιστολὴ ποὺ ἔστειλεν ὁ Πῶρος τοῦ Δαρείου (titulus) || 1067 πορῶ edd.

'Ωσὰν τὸ ἤκουσε λοιπὸν ἡ μάνα τοῦ Δαρείου,
γράφει κι αὐτὴ ἐπιστολὴ κ' ἤτονε πισαυρίου·
«'Η Ροδογόνη μάνα σου, υἱέ μου, νὰ μὴν ποίσῃς,
μὴ βουληθῇς μ' 'Αλέξανδρον νά 'βγῃς νὰ πολεμήσῃς.
Μηδὲν ταράσσῃς τὸ λοιπὸν τὸν κόσμον μὲ βουλή σου,
μὴν ἔλθῃς εἰς 'Αλέξανδρον καὶ χάσῃς τὴ ζωή σου.
Τοῦτο ὀλπίζω εἰς ἐσᾶς, ἀγάπη γιὰ νὰ γένῃ,
λοιπὸν ἐσὺ καὶ ὁ λαὸς ἂς εἶν χαιρετισμένοι.»
'Ωσὰν ἐπιάσε τὴν γραφὴν Δάρειος τότε κλαίγει,
στὸ πράγμα ποὺ ἐγίνετο δὲν εἶχε τί νὰ λέγῃ.
Καὶ πάλι ἀναγκάζετον νὰ κάμῃ τὸ φουσάτο,
ἐπεὶ γὰρ τὸν 'Αλέξανδρον πολλὰ τὸν ἐφοβᾶτο.
'Ωσὰν ἐδιάβ' 'Αλέξανδρος στὴν χώρα Βακτηρίνη,
αὐτὴν τὴν ἐπερίλαβε μ' ἀγάπη καὶ μὲ 'ρήνη.
Καὶ τότε ἐδιάβηκε εἰς περσικὴν τὴν χώρα,
ἥλιος ἀκόμη ἔστεκε κ' ἦτον καμπόση ὥρα.
'Ηθέλησε 'Αλέξανδρος τοῦτο διὰ νὰ κάμῃ,
νὰ δείξῃ εἰς τὸν Δάρειον τί ἔχει πολλὴ δυνάμη·
κλαριὰ αὐτεῖνοι φέρνουσι στὴν στράτα καὶ τὰ βάνουν
διὰ νὰ πατοῦν τὰ ἄλογα κορνιακτὸν νὰ βγάνουν·
κι ὁ κορνιακτὸς ἀνέβαινε ἀπάνω στὸν ἀέρα,
Δάρειος ἐφοβήθηκε ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέρα.
'Ηθέλησεν 'Αλέξανδρος διὰ νὰ 'κονομήσουν
ἀποκρισάρην ἄρχοντα καὶ ποιὸν νὰ προβοδήσουν.
Καθ' ὕπνου εἶδ' 'Αλέξανδρος θεὸν γὰρ τὸν 'Αμμῶνα,
ἐφόρειε στὸ κεφάλι του σκιάδι 'κ τὴν Μακεδόνα.
Λέγει του· «'Αλέξανδρε, κάμε τὴν ὀρδινιά σου,
ἐγὼ 'μαι ὁ πατέρας σου κ' ἦλθα 'ς βοήθειά σου·
μὴ στείλῃς ἀποκρισαριοὺς Δάρειον νὰ νικήσῃς·
αὐτεῖνο, λέγω σου, ποτὲ ἐσὺ νὰ μὴν τὸ ποίσῃς.
Μὰ γὼ σὲ συβουλεύομαι ἐσὺ νὰ πᾶς ἀτός σου,
καὶ μὴ φοβῆσαι τίποτες, ἐγὼ 'μαι βοηθός σου.»
'Εξύπνησε 'Αλέξανδρος κ' εἶχε χαρὰ μεγάλη,
τὸ πῶς τὸν εἶχε τὸν 'Αμμῶν 'ς βοήθειά του πάλι.
Κ' ἐσυβουλεύτη τὴ στρατιὰ σὲ τοῦτο τί νὰ γένῃ,
καλὸ τοὺς φαίνεται 'λωνῶν ἀτός του νὰ παγαίνῃ.
'Επῆρε καὶ τὸν Ἕρμηλον, τότ' ἐκαβαλικεῦσαν,

1085 χώραν corr. || 1092 ἡμέραν corr. || Post 1094 (1094a) Περὶ τὸν 'Αμμῶν ὁποὺ εἶδεν 'Αλέξανδρος εἰς τὸν ὕπνον του (titulus) || 1098 πατέρασου edd.

στὸν Στράγγαλον τὸν ποταμὸν ἐπῆγαν κ' ἐπεζεῦσαν.
Ἐπάγωσεν ὁ ποταμός, Ἀλέξανδρος περνάει,
δύο ἄλογα ἄφησε, Ὄρμηλος τὰ φυλάει.
Ἐδιάβηκεν Ἀλέξανδρος κ' ἔσωσε στὴν Περσίδαν,
οἱ ἄνθρωποι τοῦ Δάρειου τότε αὐτόνον εἶδαν.
Ὡσὰν τὸν εἶδαν τὸ λοιπὸν αὐτοὶ οἱ βιγλατόροι,
διότις ἄλλη φορεσιὰ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐφόρει,
ἐκεῖνοι τὸν ἐξέταξαν· «Ἐδῶθεν πῶς ὁδεύεις;
Στὸν τόπον τοῦτον τῆς Περσᾶς τί θέλεις, τί γυρεύεις;»
Ἀπιλογήθ' Ἀλέξανδρος· «Θέλω γιὰ νὰ μ' ἐπάρης
εἰς βασιλιὰ τὸν Δάρειον, γιατ' εἶμ' ἀποκρισάρης.»
Καὶ τότες οἱ βιγλάτορες εἰς αὖτον τὸν παγαίνουν,
εἰς βασιλιὰ τὸν Δάρειον κι ὀμπρός του τόνε φέρνουν.
Καὶ ηὗρε τους Ἀλέξανδρος τότε ποὺ δοκιμάζουν
τοὺς στρατιῶτες τοὺς καλούς, τὴν στρατιὰν νὰ σιάζουν.
Καὶ εἶδε καὶ τὸν Δάρειον, βασιλικὰ κ' ἐφόρει,
στὴν ὀμορφιὰ τῆς φορεσιᾶς Ἀλέξανδρος ἀπόρει·
ἦτον ἐκείν' ἡ φορεσιὰ πολλὰ χαριτωμένη,
κι ὁλόγυρα τοῦ Δάρειου στέκουν ἁρματωμένοι.
Ρωτᾶ τονε ὁ Δάρειος· «Ἐδῶ πῶς ἀπλικεύεις;
Πῶς ἦλθες εἰς τὸν τόπον μας, τί θέλεις, τί γυρεύεις;»
Ἀπιλογήθ' Ἀλέξανδρος· «Τοῦτο διὰ νὰ ποίσης,
εἶπε μου ὁ ἀφέντης μου, ποῦ θὲς νὰ πολεμήσης·
εἶπε μου ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος, σὲ τοῦτο ἐγρικᾶσαι,
ποὺ δὲν ἐβγαίνεις ⟨'ς⟩ πόλεμον, μοιάζει καὶ τὸν φοβᾶσαι.»
Ὡς τ' ἄκουσεν ὁ Δάρειος, μεγάλως τὸ θυμώθη,
τὰ λόγια τοῦ Ἀλέξανδρου καὶ δυνατὰ τὰ τρώθη·
καὶ εἶπε του ὁ Δάρειος· «Πῶς ἔτσ' ἀπιλογᾶσαι,
σὰν νά 'σουν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος, ποσῶς οὐδὲν φοβᾶσαι;
Ἀφοῦ 'σαι 'ποκρισάριος, δὲν θέλω νὰ ξεδράμω
εἰς τὸ δικό σου τὸ κορμὶ κακὸ διὰ νὰ κάμω,
διότις ἐξ Ἀλέξανδρον πολλὰ 'ναι τιμημένοι
μαντατοφόροι οἱ ἐμοί, 'ξ αὐτοῦ φχαριστημένοι.»
Καὶ τοῦτα εἶπε Δάρειος, πιάνει τον ἐκ τὸ χέρι,
ἐτράβα τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον στὸ σπίτι νὰ τὸν φέρη.
Ἀπῆτι ἀποσώσασι μέσα εἰς τὸ παλάτι,
ὁ Δάρειος Ἀλέξανδρον 'κ τὸ χέρι τὸν ἐκράτει·

1132 ⟨'ς⟩ supplevi

καὶ ὁρισέ τους τὸ λοιπὸν τὴν τάβλα διὰ νὰ στήσουν,
καὶ τότες ἐπεράσασι ὅλοι γιὰ νὰ καθίσουν.
Καθίζει πρῶτον Δάρειος ὁ πρῶτος τοῖς ἑτέροις,
καὶ παρακάτω κάθισε 'δελφός του Ὀξιδέρης·
καὶ τρίτος ὁποὺ κάθισε ἦτον ὁ Κουσατράπης,
καὶ παρακάτου τὸ λοιπὸν ἦτον ὁ Ἐθεράπης.
Κ' εἰς τ' ἄλλο μέρος τὸ λοιπὸν ἐκάθετον Καυδάλης,
ὁ τῶν Θιόπων βασιλεύς, τῆς χώρας τῆς μεγάλης.
Κυβιέρης καὶ Ὀνυφατὸς παρακάτω καθίσαν,
τότες καὶ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον νὰ κάτση τὸν ὁρίσαν.
Ἀλέξανδρος ἐκάθισε, Σουβλάκης, πιτηδέως,
καὶ παρακάτω κάθισε αὐτεῖνος Ἀλκιδέως.
Οἱ ἐπικέρνοι τὸ λοιπόν, ἐκεῖνοι ποὺ κερνοῦσαν,
ὁλόγυρα κερνούσασι ἐκείνους ποὺ καθίσαν·
κερνοῦν καὶ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον, τὴν κούπαν γὰρ λαμβάνει,
ἀπῆτις ἔπιε τὸ κρασί, στὸν κόλφον του τὴν βάνει.
Εἶδε τον ὁ κερνάτορας στὸν κόλφον πῶς τὴν βάνει,
ἐπῆγε εἰς τὸν Δάρειον καὶ τοῦτ' ἀναθιβάνει·
καὶ εἶπε του ὁ Δάρειος· «Γιατ' εἶσ' ἀποκρισάρης,
τὴν κούπαν ὁποὺ ἔπιες στὸν κόλφον σου νὰ πάρης;»
Ὁ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος λοιπὸν φρόνιμα συννοήθη,
ἐτοῦτο γὰρ τοῦ Δάρειου ὄμορφα πιλογήθη·
«Ἔτσι γὰρ στὸν ἀφέντη μου ὅλοι οἱ καλεσμένοι,
ὅποιος μὲ κούπα γὰρ νὰ πιῆ, χάρισμα τὴν ἐπαίρνει·
εἶπα στὸν νοῦ μου τὸ λοιπόν, ἔτσι μά τὴν ἀλήθεια,
τί καὶ ἡ βασιλεία σου ἔτσι τό 'χει συνήθεια.»
Ὡσὰν τ' ἀκοῦσαν τὸ λοιπόν, ὅλοι τους ἀπορῆσαν,
οἱ ἄρχοντες ἐθαύμασαν σ' ἐκεῖνο ὀπ' ἀκοῦσαν.
Ὁ στρατιώτης Δάρειου, ὄνομα Παρισάρης,
ποὺ διάβην εἰς τὸν Φίλιππον πρώην ἀποκρισάρης,
σὰν εἶδε τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον, τότες τὸν ἐγνωρίζει,
ὑπάγει εἰς τὸν Δάρειον, στ' ἀφτί του μουρμουρίζει
καὶ εἶπε του· «Ὁ ἄνθρωπος, ποὺ λέτε ἀποκρισάρη,
εὐτεῖνος ἔν' Ἀλέξανδρος, ποὺ θέλει νὰ μᾶς πάρη.
Ἐγὼ αὐτὸν γνωρίζω τον ἐκ τῆς Μακεδονίας,
ὅπου μὲ ἀπιλόγιασε μετὰ πολλῆς μανίας.»
Τὲς κοῦπες κράτει τὸ λοιπόν, κτυπώντας τότε βγαίνει,

Ante 1147 habet C: ὅταν ἐκάθισεν ὁ δάρειος μὲ τοὺς ἄρχοντές του εἰς τὴν τράπεζον (sic) μὲ τὸν ἀλέξανδρον. || 1168 πῆ corr.

ἄλογο καβαλίκευσε, γλήγορα τότε φεύγει·
καὶ ἔφυγεν 'Αλέξανδρος μὲ βιὰ πολλὴ καὶ ζάλη,
οἱ Πέρσες γὰρ τὸν ἔδιωχναν, μικροί τε καὶ μεγάλοι.
Καὶ ἔσωσεν 'Αλέξανδρος, διχῶς ἀλλιῶς νὰ κάμη,
στὸν Στράγγαλον τὸν ποταμόν, σ' ἐκεῖνο τὸ ποτάμι.
Πηγμένο γὰρ τὸ ηὗρηκε τότε καὶ ἀπερνάει,
ἐκ' ηὗρηκε τὸν Ἕρμηλον, τ' ἄλογα πού φυλάει.
Κ' οἱ Πέρσες σὰν ἐδιάβησαν, τὸ κρούσταλλο χαλάθη·
σὰν τό 'πασι τοῦ Δάρειου, πολλὰ γὰρ ἐπικράθη.
Κ' ἐθαύμασεν ὁ Δάρειος σ' 'Αλέξανδρου τὴν γνῶσιν,
πού τὸν ἐβάσταξε καρδιὰ σ' ἀποκοτιὰ τὴν τόσην.
'Αλέξανδρος καὶ Ὥρμηλος ὀμπρὸς πάντα παγαίνουν,
εἰς τὸ φουσάτο διάβηκαν καὶ πλιὰ δὲν ἀνιμένουν.
Ὅρισεν ὁ 'Αλέξανδρος ὅλοι ν' ἀρματωθοῦσι,
καὶ ὕστερα νὰ κάμουσι ὅλοι νὰ μετρηθοῦσι·
καὶ τὸ φουσάτο μέτρησαν κ' ἦσαν οἱ μετρημένοι
πέντε χιλιάδες κ' εἴκοσι, ὅλοι ἀρματωμένοι.
Καὶ εἶπε τους 'Αλέξανδρος· «Δαρείου ἡ στρατεία
εἶναι πολλὴ καὶ ἄμετρη, μὰ ἔχουσιν αἰτία·
πιστεύω ἕνας ἀπὸ σᾶς, σὰν ἔχετε τὴν τάξη,
χιλίους ἐκ τοῦ Δάρειου ἀνθρώπους νὰ πατάξη·
πόσες μύγες τὸ λοιπονὶς σφήκα νὰ πολεμοῦσι,
καὶ πόσα πρόβατα λοιπὸν τοῦ λύκου νὰ σταθοῦσι.»
'Ετοῦτα εἶπ' 'Αλέξανδρος καὶ τὴ στρατιά του παίρνει,
στὸν Στράγγαλον τὸν ποταμὸν τότες ἐκεῖ παγαίνει.
Φουσάτο γὰρ τὸ πέρσικο κοντά τους ἀπλικεύει,
καὶ τότες ὁ 'Αλέξανδρος 'κ τ' ἁμάξι ἐκατέβη·
καὶ τότε πάλι γλήγορα ἀνθρώπους τότε πέβει,
κ' ἠφέραν τὸν Βουκέφαλον, πηδᾶ, καβαλικεύει.
Καὶ σὰν ἐσμίκτησαν λοιπὸν αὐτεῖνες οἱ ὁμάδες,
πολλὲς γυναῖκες γίνονται τότε ἐκεῖ χηράδες·
ἐγίνετον κουδουνισμὸς εἰς τ' ἅρματα καὶ κτύποι,
καὶ τόσος πετσοκοπισμὸς τί 'τον μεγάλη λύπη.
Τὰ δύο μέρη ἔριχναν σαγίτες καὶ κοντάρια,
ἐκεῖ ἐθανατώνονταν τά 'μορφα παλικάρια.
Πολλοὶ Πέρσες ἀφανίστησαν σ' ἐκείνη τὴ μαλία,
δὲν ἔχω στόμα νὰ τὸ πῶ, 'δὲ γλώσσα, 'δὲ μιλία.

1203 πόσες: τόσες emend.

Βλέποντα γὰρ ὁ Δάρειος 'ξ 'Αλέξανδρον νικήθη,
ἐκεῖνος, λέγω, εἰς φυγὴν τότε γιαμιὰ κινήθη.
Οἱ Μακεδόνες ἔτρεχαν τοὺς Πέρσες κ' ἐσκοτῶναν
μὲ τὸ δραπανοάμαξο, ὅθεν κι ἂν τοὺς ἐσῶναν.
Ἔφτασε, λέγω, Δάρειος στὸν ποταμὸν Στραγγάλη,
λοιπὸν αὐτὸς ἀπέρασε κι ὅσοι κι ἂν ἦσαν ἄλλοι·
μὰ τ' ἄλλο μέρος τῶν Περσῶν, τὸ κρούσταλλο χαλάθη,
κ' ἐπνίγησαν οἱ ἄτυχοι κ' ἐπῆγαν εἰς τὰ βάθη.
Ὅσοι ἐμεῖναν ὄπισθεν οἱ Μακεδόνες σφάζουν,
καὶ τὸ φουσάτο Δάρειου ὅλο τὸ ἐρημάζουν.
Εἰς τὸ παλάτι Δάρειος ἦλθε καὶ τοῦτο λέγει,
τὸ ἔνδυμά του ἔριψε, φαρμακεμένα κλαίγει·
καὶ ὁ νός του ὁ ταπεινὸς μέσα του ἐβρουχάτου,
καὶ πρὸς τὴν τύχην πὄλαχε πολλὰ παραπονάτου·
«Οὐαὶ σ' ἐμένα,» ἔλεγε, «πλῆθος πολὺ πού χάθη,
ἐκ τὴν στρατεία π' ὅριζα, πὄλεγα πόσο νά 'λθη·
καὶ βασιλέας ἄνθρωπος ἔρημος ν' ἀπομένω.
Λοιπὸν ἡ τύχης εἰς αὐτὸ μ' εἶχε μεμετρημένο·
καὶ πόσα ἔθνη πάταξα μὲ τὴ στρατιὰ ἀτός μου,
καὶ τώρα βλέπω μὲ νικᾶ ἕνας μικρὸς ἐχθρός μου,
ὁπού 'μουν σύνθρονος θεῶν κ' ἦσαν βοήθειά μου,
τώρα αὐτοὶ μ' ὀργίσθησαν κ' ὑπᾶν ἀντίδικά μου.
'Αλήθεια τὸ μελλάμενο κανεὶς οὐδὲν τὸ ξεύρει,
ποτέ μου δὲν τὸ ἔλπιζα ἐτοῦτο γιὰ νὰ μ' εὕρη.
Λοιπὸν ἡ τύχη τοὺς μικροὺς ψηλὰ τοὺς ἀνυψώνει,
καὶ τοὺς μεγάλους ἐκ ψηλὰ κάτω τοὺς χαμηλώνει.»
Φάνη καλὸ τοῦ Δάρειου ἐκ τὴν ἀδυναμιά του,
γραφὴ κάμνει σ' 'Αλέξανδρον διὰ τὴν φαμελιά του.
«Σ' ἀφέντη τὸν 'Αλέξανδρον χαιρετισμὸν τοῦ πέβω,
ἐγώ, δοῦλος σου Δάρειος, χάριν 'ξ ἐσὲν γυρεύω.
Λοιπὸν κ' ἐσύ 'σαι ἄνθρωπος καὶ μὴ ψηλοφρονήσης,
μηδὲν θελήσης παντελῶς ἐμένα ν' ἀφανίσης.
Λοιπὸν ἐσὺ τὸ γρίκησες γιὰ Ξέρξην τὸν μεγάλον,
ὁπού στὸν κόσμον τὸ λοιπὸν οὐκ ηὕρισκες γὰρ ἄλλον,
πού στὴν 'Ελλάδα διάβηκε αὐτὸς μὲ τὴ στρατιά του·
ἐγρίκησες τὸ τί ἔπαθε διὰ τὴν ἀλαζονειά του·
τὰ πράματά του ἔχασε καὶ ὅλον τὸν λαόν του,

1227 ἔμηναν emendavi metri gratia || Post 1244 (1244a) 'Επιστολὴ πού ἔστειλεν ὁ Δάρειος πρὸς 'Αλέξανδρον (titulus) || 1245 ἐφάνη corr.

κακὰ ὀπίσω γύρισε αὐτὸς μὲ τὸ στανιόν του.
Ἐσὺ τὴ μάνα μὄπιασες, γυναίκα κι ἀδελφή μου,
κ' ἐμένα ξένον μ' ἔκαμες, ἔξω ἀπὸ τὴν τιμή μου.
Ἐλεμονήσου με λοιπόν, στεῖλε τὴ φαμελιά μου,
τὴ μάνα, τὴ γυναίκα μου, νὰ 'λθοῦν στὴν κατοικιά μου.
Ὑπόσχομαί σου τὸ λοιπὸν νὰ δείξω ποῦ 'ν χωσμένα
τὰ πλούτη ὅλα τῶν Περσῶν, πού 'ναι στὴν γῆν βαλμένα,
καὶ εὔχομαί σου ἐκ ψυχῆς νὰ ζῆς καὶ νὰ πατάξῃς
τοὺς βασιλεῖς, ὁπού 'ν στὴν γῆν, καὶ νὰ τοὺς κατατάξῃς.»
Ἀλέξανδρος βλέπει τὴν γραφήν, καλὰ τὴν ἐγνωρίζει,
τότε συνάσσει τὴ στρατιά, νὰ 'λθοῦν ὀμπρὸς ὁρίζει.
Τότες γὰρ ἐμαζώχθησαν ὅλοι οἱ καβαλάροι,
καὶ τὴν γραφὴν ἀνάγνωσε, βουλὴν διὰ νὰ πάρῃ.
Καὶ εἶπεν ὁ Παρμένιος· «Ὡς διὰ τὸ χρυσάφι,
ἐγὼ δώσει τες ἤθελα, καθὼς αὐτεῖνος γράφει.»
Ἐγέλασεν Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ εἶπε τοῦ Παρμένη·
«Θαυμάζω εἰς τὸν Δάρειον τὸ πῶς συγκατεβαίνει·
καὶ δὲν τὸ ξεύρει Δάρειος ὅτι, ἂ μὲ νικήσῃ,
παίρνει τὴν φαμελία του δίχως καμία κρίσῃ.
Παραπονεῖται Δάρειος, λέγει ἐκούρσεψά τον,
μάλιστα τὸ ἐνάντιον, λέγει τὶ ἀδίκησά τον.
Καὶ σώνει τον τὸν Δάρειον, ὅτ' εἶχε ξένον τόπον,
ὣς τώρα τὸν ἀφέντευε δίχως κανένα κόπον·
τώρα παραλαμβάνει τον ἄλλος ποὺ παρθενίζει,
καὶ ἄλλον τόσον γὰρ καιρὸν αὐτὸς νὰ τὸν ὁρίζῃ.»
Τοῦτα εἶπε Ἀλέξανδρος κ' εἶπε νὰ τὰ μηνήσουν,
'ς Δάρειον νὰ παγαίνουσι καὶ νὰ τοῦ τὰ μιλήσουν.
Καὶ τὸν χειμών' Ἀλέξανδρος τότ' ἐκεῖ ἀπομένει,
καὶ ἀναπαύτη ἡ στρατιά, ὁπού 'τον κοπιασμένη.
Ὥρισεν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος παλάτια νὰ κάψουν,
τοῦ Ξέρξου κεῖνα τὰ λαμπρὰ φωτία νὰ ἀνάψουν·
καὶ πάλι ἐμετάνωσε κ' εἶπε· «Κακὰ ἐποῖκα.»
Καὶ τότε πάλι ὅρισε αὐτεῖνα καὶ τ' ἀφῆκα.
Ἐκ' εἶδε τάφους βασιλιῶν, ὄμορφα γεναμένους,
εἰς τὲς λεκάνες τὲς χρυσὲς τοὺς εἴχασι θαμμένους.
Πάλι ἐκεῖθεν ἔγνεψε κ' εἶδε τὸν τάφον Κύρου,
ἤτονε δωδεκάπατος, κτισμένος γύρου γύρου.

1276 ἐναντίον corr. metri causa

Ἀπάνω ἦτον τὸ κορμὶ μὲ τὴν χρυσὴν λεκάνη,
καὶ τῆς λεκάνης ὀμορφιὰ ποῖος ν' ἀναθιβάνη;
Εἶδε Ξέρξου βασιλιὰ ἐκείνου τὸ μνημούρι,
ἦτον λαμπρὸ καὶ ὄμορφο ἐκεῖνο τὸ κιβούρι.
Ἐκεῖ κοντὰ γὰρ ἤσανε Ἕλληνες κεκλεισμένοι.
Ὥρισεν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος νά 'νιαι λευθερωμένοι·
καὶ ἔδωσέ τους χρήματα, τίποτες μὴ εἰποῦνε,
λεύθεροι στὴν πατρίδα τους νὰ πᾶνε γιὰ νὰ δοῦνε.
Καὶ πάλι Δάρειος ἤθελε διὰ νὰ πολεμήσῃ,
φουσάτο γὰρ ἐγύρευε τότες νὰ 'λθῇ νὰ ποίσῃ.
Γράφει καὶ Πώρῳ βασιλεῖ, φόρις νὰ τοῦ γρικήσῃ,
διὰ νὰ στείλῃ δύναμιν κι, ἂν τύχῃ, νὰ νικήσῃ.
«Βασιλεὺς Δάρειος Πώρῳ πεφιλημένῳ,
πρέπει σου νὰ μὲ λυπηθῇς, σὰν μ' ἔχουν καμωμένο.
Ἦλθε θηρίον ἄγριον κ' ἐμένα τριγυρίζει,
τὲς χῶρες μου ὁλόγυρα ὅλες τὲς ἀφανίζει.
Ζητῶ τὴ φαμελία μου αὐτεῖνος νὰ μοῦ δώσῃ,
αὐτεῖνος δὲν προσδέχεται νὰ μοῦ τὴν παραδώσῃ·
καὶ νὰ τοῦ δώσω ἔταξα πράμα πολὺ μεγάλο,
κ' ἐκεῖνος μὲ περηφανεῖ, παίζει μὲ δίχως ἄλλο.
Κ' ἐσὺ θυμήσου τὴ φιλιά, τὴν εἶχαν οἱ γονεῖς μας,
λοιπὸν φουσάτο στεῖλε μας νὰ πῶμε στοὺς ἐχθρούς μας.
Στὰς Καπηλίας τὸ λοιπὸν ἐκεῖ γιὰ ν' ἀποδώσουν,
διότις ἔχουν τὴν τροφὴν ὡς διὰ νὰ τοὺς δώσουν·
καὶ γὰρ ἂν καταβοδωθῶ ἐκείνους νὰ νικήσω,
τῶν κουρσεμάτων τά 'μισυ νὰ 'λθῶ νὰ σοῦ χαρίσω·
τὸν ἵππον τὸν Βουκέφαλον, κεῖνον τὸν τιμημένον,
νὰ σοῦ τὸν στείλω καὶ αὐτὸν μὲ ἅλυσες δεμένον.
Ἂς ἔλθῃ γληγορώτερα ἐδῶ διὰ νὰ σώσῃ,
μὲ τοὺς ἐχθρούς μας τὸ λοιπὸν νὰ πάγῃ νὰ μαλώσῃ.»
Ὡς τ' ἄκουσεν Ἀλέξανδρος, πρὸς Δάρειον σπουδάζει,
καὶ τὴ στρατιά του ἔκραξε, τότες τὴν ὀρδινιάζει.
Καὶ ὅρμησεν Ἀλέξανδρος κ' ὑπάγει στὴν Μηδία.
Ὁ Δάρειος ηὑρίσκετον κάτω στὴ Βατανία.
Ἐκεῖθεν τότες ἔφυγε, πάγει στὰς Καπηλίας,
καὶ τὸ φουσάτο Δάρειου πάγει τῆς ἀπωλείας.
Δάρειου ἦλθε εὔνουχος σ' Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ λέγει,

Post 1304 (1304a) Ἐπιστολὴ ποὺ ἔστειλε Δάρειος εἰς Πῶρον βασιλέαν (titulus)

εἶπε του γιὰ τὸν Δάρειον, τὸ πῶς αὐτεῖνος φεύγει.
Ἀλέξανδρος ἐβιάζετον ὡς διὰ νὰ βοδώση,
ἤθελησε τὸν Δάρειον στὴ χώρα νὰ τὸν σώση.
Ἰδὼν Βῆσσος ὀνόματι καὶ ὁ Ἀρνοβαρζάνης,
εἶπασι γὰρ τοῦ Δάρειου· «Τὴν ἀφεντιά σου χάνεις·
καὶ θὲ νὰ σὲ σκοτώσωμε, νὰ χάσης τὴν ζωήν σου
ἀπάνω τώρα τὸ λοιπὸν ποὺ χάνεις τὴν τιμήν σου,
νὰ μᾶς τιμήση τὸ λοιπὸν αὐθέντης ὁπού μπαίνει,
γιὰ σένα μεῖς νὰ γένωμεν ἀφέντες γεναμένοι.»
Ἀπιλογήθη Δάρειος, εἰς αὔτους τότε λέγει,
ἐβούρκωσαν τὰ μάτια του κι ἀρχίζει γιὰ νὰ κλαίγη
καὶ εἶπε τους· «Ἀφέντες μου, πού 'στε δοῦλοι δικοί μου,
εἰπέτε τί σᾶς ἔκαμα καὶ χάνω τὴ ζωή μου·
γνωρίσετε τὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς θέλει μὲ ἐζητήσει
'ς τοῦτα ποὺ λογαριάζετε γιὰ νὰ μὲ ξεδικήση.»
Καὶ ταῦτα εἶπε Δάρειος, κι αὐτοὶ δὲν τοῦ γρικοῦσι,
κ' οἱ δύο ξεσπαθώσασι τότε καὶ τοῦ βαροῦσι.
Σκοτώνουν τὸν ἀφέντη τους ἐκεῖν' οἱ ὀργισμένοι,
εἰπέτε μου, τί κέρδισαν οἱ 'ναθεματισμένοι;
Ἔδ' ἀνομιὰ τὴν ἔκαμαν, μεγάλη ἀσωτία,
νὰ σφάξουν τὸν αὐθέντη τους, δὲν εἶχαν ἁμαρτία;
Καὶ τὸ ψωμὶ ποὺ τό 'φαγαν ἐκεῖνο νὰ τοὺς πνίξη,
καὶ νὰ τοὺς ἔλθη στὸ κορμὶ πολὺ κακὸ καὶ τήξη.
Καὶ παγωμένον ηὕρασι τὸν Στράγγαλο ποτάμι,
οἱ Μακεδόνες ἀπερνοῦν μ' ὅλη τους τὴ δυνάμη.
Βῆσσος καὶ Ἀρβαζάνιος ἐκεῖθεν τότε πᾶσι.
Δὲν ἔσωσεν Ἀλέξανδρος ἐκεῖ γιὰ νὰ τοὺς φθάση.
Καὶ ηὕρηκεν Ἀλέξανδρος Δάρειον ματωμένον,
ἐξαπλωμένον εἰς τὴν γῆν καὶ σπαθοκοπημένον·
καὶ ἅπλωσε τὸ χέρι του εἰς τὸ κορμὶ κ' ἐκρίθη
ἡ τύχης πῶς τὸν ἤφερε καὶ δυνατὰ λυπήθη.
Εἶπε· «Ἀνάστα, Δάρειε, κ' ἔχε τὴν αὐθεντιά σου,
ἀντάμα μὲ τὸν τόπον σου καὶ μὲ τὴν ἐξουσά σου.
Καὶ μνέω σου εἰς τοὺς θεούς, ἀλήθεια σὲ λέγω,
λοιπὸν ὅλοι γρικοῦνε το, ἐτοῦτο ποὺ σοῦ μνέγω·
μὴ παραδώσης τὸ λοιπὸν 'ς θάνατον τὴ ζωή σου,

Post 1332 (1332a) Φόνος Δαρείου (titulus) || 1347 ἐκεῖν' οἱ: ἐκεῖνοι || Post 1352 (1352a) Περὶ τὸ πῶς ἀπέρασαν οἱ Μακεδόνες τὸν ποταμὸν (titulus) || 1359-60 Secunda hemistichia utriusque versus inter se mutavi || 1365 'ς: εἰς corr.

λοιπὸν καλὰ γιὰ νὰ γενῆς καὶ νά 'χης τὴν τιμή σου.
Εἰπὲς καὶ τίς σὲ φόνευσε κ' ἐγὼ γιὰ νὰ ὁρίσω,
σ' ἐκείνους, ὁπού σ' ἔσφαξαν, νὰ σὲ ἐξεκδικήσω.»
Ἅπλωσε καὶ τὸ ροῦχο του τότες καὶ τὸν σκεπάζει,
καὶ ἀποκρίθη Δάρειος ἔτσι καὶ λογαριάζει·
«Ἐγνώρισε, Ἀλέξανδρε, θάνατος δὲν φροντίζει,
βασιλέα δὲ ντρέπεται, πτωχὸν δὲν τὸν γυρίζει.
Θανάτου τὸ ποτήριον πολλά 'ναι πρικαμένο.
Λοιπὸν βλέπεις οἱ δοῦλοι μου πῶς μ' ἔχουν καμωμένο.
Καὶ πρέπει του τοῦ καθενὸς θάνατον νὰ θυμᾶται,
ὅταν στέκη στεκούμενος καὶ πέφτη καὶ κοιμᾶται.
Θάνατος, βλέπεις, ἔρχεται κ' ἐσὺ δὲν τὸν ἐγνώθεις,
σὰν σύρη τὴ σαγίτα του, πάραυτα θανατώθης·
κ' ἐκείνου ἡ σαγίτα του ἔναι φαρμακεμένη,
καὶ ὅποιον γγίξη μετ' αὐτήν, ψυχή του τότε βγαίνει.
Λοιπὸν κ' ἐσύ, Ἀλέξανδρε, μηδὲν ψηλοφρονήσης,
διότις τύχης τό 'φερε ἐσὺ γιὰ νὰ μ' ὁρίσης.
Λοιπὸν κ' ἐσὺ τὸ ἤξευρες, εἶχα στερρὰ δυνάμη,
καὶ τώρα σείομαι, θωρεῖς, σὰ σειέται τὸ καλάμι.
Καὶ γὰρ ἡ τύχη τοὺς μικροὺς πολλάκις ἀνεβάζει,
καὶ τοὺς μεγάλους ἐκ ψηλὰ κάτω τοὺς κατεβάζει.
Μὲ χέρι σου, Ἀλέξανδρε, κάμε γιὰ νὰ μὲ θάψης,
τάφον ὀρδίνιασ' ἔμορφον, μέσα νὰ μ' ἀναπάψης.
Ἂς γένη καὶ συγγένεια σ' ἐμένα νά 'ν τιμή σου,
ἔπαρ' τὴ θυγατέρα μου Ρωξάνην γιὰ γυνή σου·
καὶ ἔχε καὶ τὴν μάνα μου σὰν μάνα ἐδική σου,
κ' ἔχε καὶ τὴν γυναίκα μου σὰν νά 'τον ἀδελφή σου.»
Καὶ τοῦτα εἶπε Δάρειος κ' ἐδιάβη ἡ ζωή του
καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα πλήρωσε, κ' ἐβγῆκε ἡ ψυχή του.
Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπόνεσε καὶ τὸ οὐαὶ γὰρ λέγει,
ἐπόνεσε τὸν Δάρειον κι ἀπὸ ψυχῆς τὸν κλαίγει.
Καὶ ὅρισεν Ἀλέξανδρος ὅλοι ν' ἀρματωθοῦσι
καὶ ἀποπίσω καὶ ὀμπρὸς ὅλοι ν' ἀκολουθοῦσι.
Οἱ Πέρσες μπρὸς ὑπήγαιναν κ' ἦσαν ἀρματωμένοι,
κ' οἱ Μακεδόνες ὄπισθεν, ὅλοι ξεσπαθωμένοι.
Καὶ μὲ τὸ νεκροκρέβατον Λέξανδρος τὸν βασταίνει
μὲ ἄλλους τρεῖς στρατιῶτες του, στὸ μνῆμα τὸν παγαίνει.

1372 δὲν τρέπεται || 1385 παλλάκις edd., recte C

Κορμιὰ καὶ ἄλλων βασιλιῶν ἐκεῖ 'σανε θαμμένα,
γράμματα εἶχε τὸ λοιπὸν μνῆμα τὸ κάθε ἕνα.
Καὶ κάμνουσι καὶ γράμματα στοῦ Δάρειου τὸν τάφο,
κ' ἐκεῖνο ὁποὺ λέγουσι κάτωθεν γὰρ τὸ γράφω·
«'Αφέντης Πέρσων Δάρειος ἔναι ἐδῶ θαμμένος,
ὁποὺ τὸν ἐσκοτώσασι, κι ἃς ἔν συγχωρεμένος.»
Γραφὴ ἔκαμε 'Αλέξανδρος, 'ς Πέρσας τὴν ἀναγνώνει,
νὰ ξεύρουσι τὸν ὁρισμόν, νά 'νιαι διαρμηνεμένοι·
«Βασιλεὺς ὁ 'Αλέξανδρος, 'ξ 'Αμμώνου βασιλίας,
ὁποὺ γεννήθη 'κ τῆς λαμπρᾶς αὐτῆς τῆς 'Ολυμπίας,
στοὺς Πέρσας βάνω ὁρισμὸν καὶ τώρα τοὺς ὁρίζω,
τὸ θέλω γιὰ νὰ κάμουσι, τώρα τ' ἀποφασίζω.
'Εγὼ δὲν ἤθελα λοιπὸν τόσοὶ νὰ σκοτωθοῦσι,
ἀγάπουν νά 'ταν ζωντανοὶ κ' ἐκεῖνοι γιὰ νὰ ζοῦσι.
Λοιπόν, ἀφοῦ ἐχάθησαν, δὲν ἔχω τί νὰ ποίσω,
ἐπεὶ εἶμαι αὐθέντης σας, θέλω νὰ σᾶς ὁρίσω.
Καὶ νὰ τιμᾶτε, λέγω σας, τοὺς ἄρχοντες, ποὺ βάνω,
νὰ στέκουν εἰς τὰ κάστρη μου, ἐτοῦτ' ἀναθιβάνω.
"Αλλον αὐθέντη τὸ λοιπὸν μὴ βάνετε στὸν νοῦ σας,
εἴμητα τὸν 'Αλέξανδρον, πὄναι διὰ τιμή σας·
στὴν πρώτη σας συνήθεια πάλι σ' αὐτείνην νά 'στε,
θεοὺς νὰ ἑορτάζετε καὶ νὰ τοὺς ἐκτελάστε.
Εἴτι ἐκράτει πασαείς, πάλι ἃς τὸ μετέχη,
καὶ ξὲ κανέναν ἔμποδον αὐτεῖνος νὰ μὴν ἔχη.
Εἴτις ἐπῆρε ἅρματα, πού 'ναι τῆς αὐθεντίας,
πάλι ἃς τὰ στρέψη ὄπισθεν νά 'νιαι τῆς βασιλείας.
Νά 'ναι φτήνια στὸν τόπον μου, εἰρήνη καὶ ἀγάπη,
κανένας, λέγω, ἐξ ἐσᾶς ἄλλον νὰ μὴν ἐβλάπτη.
'Ορίζω σας τὸ λοιπονὲς νά 'στε διχῶς αἰτίες,
"Ελληνες δῶ νὰ ἔρχουνται νὰ κάμνουν πραματεῖες.
'Ορίζω γιὰ νὰ πάρουσι ἀπὸ τὰ κουρσιμιά μας,
νὰ θυσιάσουν τοὺς θεούς, νά 'νιαι βοήθειά μας.
'Ορίζω γιὰ νὰ πάρουσι ἐκ τὲς ἁρματωσίες
οἱ στρατιῶτες τὸ λοιπὸν γιὰ νά 'νιαι στὲς μπασίες·
καὶ πάσα στρατιώτης μου νά 'ναι φχαριστημένος,
χίλια δουκάτα τὸ λοιπὸν γιὰ νά 'ναι πληρωμένος.

1405 τάφον corr. || Post 1410 (1410a) Διαλαλιὰ ποὺ ἔκαμε ὁ 'Αλέξανδρος στοὺς Πέρσας (titulus) || 1415 τόσοι: τώρα emend. || 1418 αὐθέντησας

Εἴτις ἐκεῖνος ἔδειρε ἐχθρὸν μὲ τὸ κονδάρι,
χρυσὸ στεφάνι ἐξ ἐμὲν νά 'χη κ' ἐκεῖνος χάρη·
ζωνάρι νά 'χη γὰρ χρυσό, δύο γενὲς βαμμένες,
καὶ δύο κοῦπες χάρισμα νά 'ν περιχρυσωμένες.
Νὰ παίρνη πέρπυρα λοιπόν, νά 'ναι φχαριστημένος,
διακόσια ὀγδοήκοντα στὸ χέρι πλερωμένος.
Καὶ εἴτις ἔχει πόθεση, σ' ἐκεῖνον νὰ παγαίνη,
νὰ λύεται ἡ πόθεσις κ' εὐχαριστιὰ νὰ παίρνη.
Κι ὅποιος δὲν κάμη ὁρισμόν, σὰν λέγει καὶ ὁρίζει,
ἀφέντης ὁ 'Αλέξανδρος θέλει αὐτὸν μαστίζει.»
Πάλι ὅρισεν 'Αλέξανδρος γιὰ νὰ διαλαλήσουν·
πόσκότωσαν τὸν Δάρειον νὰ 'λθοῦν νὰ τοῦ μιλήσουν,
νὰ τοὺς ποιήση τὸ λοιπὸν ἄρχοντες εἰς τὸν τόπον,
χῶρες γιὰ νὰ ὁρίζουσι διχῶς κανέναν κόπον·
«Λοιπὸν ἂν ἔζη Δάρειος, μὰ κάλλια ποὺ ἐσφάη,
διότις πάντα του μ' ἐμὲν ἤθελε πολεμάει.
Καὶ εἴτις ἔναι τὸ λοιπόν, πάλι θὲ νὰ τ' ἀρχίσω,
σ' ἐμένα νά 'λθη γλήγορα περίφουμον νὰ ποίσω.»
'Υπᾶσιν εἰς 'Αλέξανδρον Βῆσσος κι 'Αρνοβαρζάνης,
κ' εἶπασι τοῦ 'Αλέξανδρου· «Δίκαιον ἔν τὸ κάνεις.
'Ημεῖς τὸν ἐσκοτώσαμεν Δάρειον τὸν ἐχθρόν σου
καὶ πάλι τὸ δυνόμεσθεν ἡμεῖς τὸν ὁρισμόν σου.»
Σὰν τ' ἄκουσεν 'Αλέξανδρος, εἶπε διὰ νὰ ποίσουν,
ἀπάνω 'ς τάφον Δάρειου νὰ πᾶν νὰ τοὺς φουρκίσουν.
'Απιλογήθησαν λοιπὸν αὐτοὶ οἱ ὀργισμένοι·
«Τὴ διαλαλιὰ ἀκούσαμεν ὁπού 'τον γεναμένη.
Λοιπόν, ἀφέντη βασιλιά, τοὺς λόγους σ' ἀφανίζεις;
Τὴ διαλαλιὰ ὁπὄκαμες, βλέπομε, δὲν τὴν χρήζεις.»
'Απιλογήθ' 'Αλέξανδρος· «'Εσᾶς οὐδὲν ψηφοῦμε,
γιὰ τούτους πού 'ν ὀλόγυρα, γιατ' αὐτ' ἀπιλογοῦμαι·
ἐπεὶ δὲν ἦτον μπορετὸ ἀλλέως γιὰ νὰ 'λθῆτε,
τὸν λόγον μου σχημάτισα ἐσεῖς νὰ κομπωθῆτε·
κ' ἐκεῖνο ὁποὺ ὅρισα πάλι διὰ νὰ γένη,
νὰ σᾶς κάμω περίφουμους σ' ὅλην τὴν οἰκουμένη.
Εἶπα νὰ σᾶς φουρκίσουσι γιὰ ν' ἀκουστῆ μεγάλο
τὸ ὄνομά σας τὸ λοιπὸν εἰς ἕνα καὶ εἰς ἄλλο.»
Καὶ τότες τοὺς ἐφούρκισε ἀπάνω εἰς τὸν τάφο,

1444 ὀγδόκοντα edd., corr. C || 1449 πάλιν corr.

κ' ἐγίνησαν περίφουμοι, δὲν ἔχω τί νὰ γράφω.
Καὶ ἔκαμε 'Αλέξανδρος κριτάδες κεῖ καὶ στέκουν
στὸν τόπον κεῖνον τῆς Περσᾶς, πλούσους πτωχοὺς νὰ κρένουν.
Ἔκαμε ὁ 'Αλέξανδρος ἐτότε νὰ μηνήση
μάνα Δαρείου μὲ γραφή, νὰ τὴν παρηγορήση·
«'Αλέξανδρος Ροδογυνή, Ρωξάνη, ἀδελφές μου,
Δάρειον δὲν ἐσκότωσα ἐγὼ μὲ τὲς στρατιές μου.
'Εκεῖνον τὸν ἐσκότωσαν ἄρχοντες ἐδικοί του·
λοιπὸν δὲ μὴ μὲ μέμφεστεν ἐμὲν γιὰ τὴν θανή του.
Καὶ μὲ τὸ ροῦχο μου λοιπὸν ἐγὼ ἐσκέπασά τον,
ἀκόμη ὅπου σύντυχε, ἐγὼ γὰρ ἔθαψά τον.
'Εμίλησα καὶ μετ' αὐτόν, τό 'θελε εἶπε μού το,
καὶ ἔθαψά τον ἔντιμα, ὡς πατέρας μου ὁπού 'το.
Κ' ἐκείνους ποὺ τὸν ἔσφαξαν ὅρισα γιὰ νὰ ποίσουν,
στὸν τάφον κεῖνον τὸ λοιπὸν νὰ πᾶν νὰ τοὺς φουρκίσουν.
Καὶ ὅλους γὰρ τοὺς ὅρισα αὐτὸν νὰ ὀνομάζουν
ὡσὰν θεὸν ἐπίγειον, νὰ τόνε θυσιάζουν.
Καὶ γιὰ γυναίκα εἶπε μου νὰ πάρω τὴν Ρωξάνη,
κι ἀτός του τὸ ἐμίλησε, πρὶν παρὰ ν' ἀποθάνη.
'Ορέγομαι καὶ ἀγαπῶ ἐγὼ γιὰ νὰ τὴν πάρω
ὡσὰν γυναίκα μου αὐτήν, ἂς ἔχη αὐτὸ τὸ θάρρο.
Λοιπὸν ἐσεῖς πρὸς τὸ παρὸν αὐτοῦ γιὰ νὰ σταθῆτε,
γιὰ νὰ φθειαστοῦν τὰ πράματα, κι ἀπέκει δῶ νὰ 'λθῆτε.»
Κ' ἔγραψε τῆς μητέρας του ροῦχα γιὰ νὰ 'ρδινιάση
γιὰ τὴν Ρωξάνη νυμφικά, νὰ τοῦ τὰ ἑτοιμάση.
Λοιπὸν αὐτὴ τὰ 'ρδίνιασε, σ' 'Αλέξανδρον τὰ στέλνει.
Τότ' ἔρισε 'Αλέξανδρος, ὁ γάμος γιὰ νὰ γένη·
καὶ τὴ Ρωξάνη ἔκραξε κι αὐτὸς τὴν εὐλογήθη
ὡσὰν γυναίκα του λοιπόν, μετ' αὕτην ἐκοιμήθη.
'Εκάμαν περιδιαβασμοὺς κ' ἐκεῖνα ποὺ βοδῶσα,
δὲν ἔχω χείλη νὰ τὰ πῶ, 'δὲ συντυχιά, 'δὲ γλώσσα.
Καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἔγραψεν εἰς τὸν 'Αριστοτέλη,
μάλιστα τῆς μητέρας του, σ' αὐτοὺς τοὺς δυὸ τὴν στέλλει·
«Βασιλεὺς 'Αλέξανδρος μητρί μου 'Ολυμπιάδα,
λοιπὸν αὐτείνη χαιρετῶ μ' ὅλη της τὴν ὁμάδα·
'Αριστοτέλει τῷ ἐμῷ τιμίῳ διδασκάλῳ,

Post 1480 (1480a) 'Επιστολὴ ὁποὺ ἔστειλεν 'Αλέξανδρος εἰς |μάνα Δαρείου (titulus) || 1492 τὸν νεθυσιάζουν edd. || Post 1508 (1508a) 'Επιστολὴ ὁποὺ 'ἔστειλε ὁ 'Αλέξανδρος τῆς μητρός του καὶ τοῦ διδασκάλου αὐτοῦ 'Αριστοτέλη (titulus)

ξαιρέτως κεῖνον χαιρετῶ περὶ κανέναν ἄλλο.
Γιὰ τοῦ Δαρείου πόλεμον θέλω νὰ σᾶς μηνήσω,
πῶς εἶχεν ἔθνη πάμπολλα, τώρα θὲ νὰ τ' ἀρχίσω·
γρικώντας γὼ τὴν δύναμιν τὴν ἔχει αὐτὸς τὴν τόση,
ἐμηχανεύθη τὸ λοιπὸν κ' ἔκαμα γὼ μὲ γνώση.
Τὰ παλικάρια μ' ὅρισα αἶγες κ' ἐκουβαλῆσαν,
κεριὰ 'ναμμένα τὸ λοιπὸν στὰ κέρατα κολλῆσαν
καὶ τότες τὲς ἀπόλυσα τὴ νύκτα καὶ ἐπῆγαν.
'Εβλέποντα τὸν πληθυσμὸν ἐκεῖνοι τότ' ἐφύγαν.
Βλέποντα μεῖς κ' ἐφύγανε, τότε σταυρώνομέ τους,
στὴ μέση τοὺς ἐβάλαμε κ' ἐκατακόβαμέ τους.
Καὶ κάστρο τότες ὅρισα, τότες ἐκεῖ τὸ κάνουν,
τὸ ὄνομά του τὸ λοιπὸν Αἶγες ἀναθιβάνουν.
Εἰς τὴν Σουρία τὸ λοιπόν, στὸν ποταμὸν 'Αφράτη,
πόλη ὅρισα κ' ἐκτίσασι καὶ ἐτελείωσά τη.
Τὸ ὄνομά της τὸ λοιπὸν 'Αλεξανδρειὰ τὴν κράζουν,
ἔτσι ἐκείνους ὅρισα γιὰ νὰ τὴν ὀνομάζουν.
Τὸν Δάρειον ἐσκότωσαν αὐτεῖν' οἱ ἐδικοί του,
ὅμως ἐγὼ τοῦ ἔκαμα τὴν ἐξεκδίκησή του.
'Αγάπουν το τὸ λοιπονὲ γιὰ νά 'ζειε γιὰ τώρα,
γιὰ νὰ τὸν ὅριζα ἐγὼ στὴν ἐδική του χώρα.
Λοιπὸν καλὰ τὸν ἔθαψα αὐτεῖνον ὡς πατήρ μου,
ἀτός μου τὸν ἐσήκωσα ἐγὼ μὲ τὸ κορμί μου.
Καὶ τότες ἐσηκώθηκα κ' ἐπῆγα στὴν Μηδία
καὶ πάλι ἐκατέβηκα σ' αὐτὴν τὴν 'Αρμενία.
Τότε πάλι ἐδιάβηκα σ' αὐτείνην τὴν Βερίαν,
μέσα σὲ χώρα τῶν Περσῶν ἐπῆγα μὲ στρατείαν.
Καὶ τότε πάλι ἐδιάβημαν εἰς τοὺς ἐρήμους τόπους,
ἐκεῖθεν ἐδιάβημαν μὲ βιὲς πολλὲς καὶ κόπους.
Εἶπαν μας οἱ ἐντόπιοι, κανεὶς οὐδὲν ὑπάγει
σ' αὐτείνην γὰρ τὴν ἔρημον, γιατ' εἶν' ἀνθρωποφάγοι.
Ηὑρίσκονται κι ἄλλα θηριὰ καὶ εἶναι θυμωμένα,
ποτὲ δὲν τά 'δε κανενεὶς τέτοια φαρμακωμένα.
Γρικώντα γὼ τὰ πράματα κι αὐτεῖνα γιὰ ν' ἀκούσω,
τὸν τόπον κεῖνον ἤθελα νὰ τὸν περιπατήσω.
Ὅρισα 'κ τοὺς ἐντόπιους κ' ἐπήραμε ἀνθρώπους·

1523 κάμνουν corr. || 1529 αὐτίνοι || 1531 το supplevi metri causa || 1534 ἐσίκοτα edd. || 1536 ἁρμενίαν corr.

τότες ἐπερπατούσαμε 'ξ ἐκείνους γὰρ τοὺς τόπους.
Γκρεμνὸν μεγάλον ηὕραμε, ἐξ αὖτον περπατοῦμε,
ἀγανακτήσαμε πολλὰ κάτω νὰ κατεβοῦμε.
'Επερπατούσαμε λοιπὸν πλέο παρὰ βδομάδι,
καὶ εἴδαμε κακὰ θεριὰ ὁπὄρχονταν ὁμάδι.
Σὲ τόπον ἐδιέβημαν, δένδρ' εἶδα ὡριωμένα,
καὶ ὁ καρπός τους τὸ λοιπὸν ὡς μῆλα ἐσυφέρνα.
'Ανθρώπους κεῖ ἐβλέπαμε κ' ἐλέγαν τους Σφοντύλους,
ἦσαν μεγάλοι τὸ λοιπὸν κ' εἶχαν μακροὺς τραχήλους,
μερία καὶ σαγόνια εἶχαν πολλὰ μεγάλα,
ὡσὰν αὐτεῖνα μοῦ ποτὲ ἐγὼ οὐκ εἶδα ἄλλα.
Καὶ ἤλθασιν ἀπάνου μας κ' εἶχαν μεγάλο θράσο,
ὥρισα γιὰ νὰ φέρουσι κανέναν γιὰ νὰ πιάσω.
'Απάνω τους ἐπήγαμε κι αὐτοὶ ἀντισταθῆκαν,
κι ὀκ τοὺς δικούς μας 'ξήντα τρεῖς τότε ἐσκοτωθῆκαν.
'Ακόμη κι ἄλλους ἑκατὸν ἐκεῖνοι θανατώνουν
σ' ἐκεῖνο τ' ἀνακάτωμα, ἐκεῖνοι ποὺ μαλώνουν.
Καὶ τετρακόσοι τράντα δυὸ 'ξ ἐκείνους σκοτωθῆκαν,
ἐκ χεῖρας τῶν Μακεδονιῶν θάνατον ἐγευτῆκαν.
'Εκεῖνα γὰρ τὰ πωρικὰ ὁποὺ Σφοντύλοι τρῶσι,
'ξ ἐκεῖνα τρώγαμε κ' ἐμεῖς ὡς γιὰ δική μας βρώση.
Εἰς τόπον ἐκατέβημεν καὶ πᾶμε βοδωμένοι,
ἀνθρώπους κεῖ εὑρήκαμε, πολλά 'σαν ἀγριωμένοι.
Ἥτονε γὰρ τὸ μάκρος τους ὡς τέσσαρα πηχάρια,
ἦτονε καὶ τὸ πλάτος τους ὥσπερ εἰσὶ κονδάρια.
Ἥσανε δυνατοὶ πολλὰ σ' ἐμᾶς καὶ κατεβαίνουν,
πολλοὺς ἐκ τοὺς στρατιῶτες μου αὐτεῖνοι θανατώνουν.
Καὶ ὥρισά τους τὸ λοιπὸν μὲ στιὰ σ' αὐτοὺς κ' ἐπῆγαν,
καὶ τόμου εἶδαν τὴν ἱστιάν, τότες αὐτεῖνοι φύγαν.
'Αποταχιὰ ἐπήγαμε σ' ἐκείνων τὰ κρεβάτια,
θεριὰ σ' αὐτεῖνα ηὕραμε κ' εἴχασι τρία μάτια,
τὸ μάκρος πῆχες τέσσαρες, δεμένα σὲ κολόνες·
μεγάλους ψύλλους ηὕραμε κ' ἦσαν ὡσὰν χελῶνες.
Καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἤλθαμε σὲ τόπον πού 'τον βρύση,
καθίζουν στρατιῶτες μου ἐκ τὸ νερὸ νὰ πιοῦσι·
στὴν βρύση τότ' ἐκάθισε καθένας ξεγνοιασμένος,
ἄνθρωπος κεῖθεν ἀπερνᾶ κ' ἦτονε μαλλιασμένος.

1571 Ἥτονε: ἦτον corr. || 1574 στρατιτίωτες 1529

Καὶ ὥρισα κ' ἐπιάσαν τον, ἄγρια μᾶς κοιτάζει·
ποῖος αὐτεῖνον νὰ μὴ δῇ καὶ νὰ μηδὲν θαυμάζῃ;
Ὅρισα δὲ νὰ γδύσουσι γυναίκα νὰ τοῦ πᾶσι,
φόρις νὰ ἔλθῃ 'ς πεθυμιὰ καὶ νὰ τὴν ἀγκαλιάσῃ·
καὶ ἕνας ἐκ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ἐκεῖ τοῦ τὴν ὑπάγει,
ἐκεῖνος τότ' ἐχύμησε ἐκείνη γιὰ νὰ φάγῃ·
ἄνθρωποι τότε ἔδραμον γυναίκα νὰ γλυτώνουν,
κι αὐτεῖνος τότ' ἐφώναξε, ἄλλοι 'κ τὸ δάσο βγαίνουν.
Τότες πάλι ἐξέβησαν μέσα 'κ τὸν καλαμιώνα,
ὡσὰν τὰ ἄστρα τ' οὐρανοῦ σὰν ἐκεινοὺς ἐβγαῖνα.
Εἰς τὸ καλάμι ὥρισα ἱστία γιὰ νὰ βάλουν,
ἀπὸ τὴν κάψιν τῆς ἱστιᾶς δὲν ἦλθαν νὰ προβάλουν.
Καὶ πάλι τότες τὴν φωτιὰ ἐμπρός τους τὴν ὑπῆγαν,
καὶ τόμου εἶδαν τὴν φωτιά, τότες αὐτεῖνοι φύγαν.
Καὶ πεντακόσους ἔπιασαν, τότες τοὺς ἐταυροῦσαν,
φωνὴ δὲν εἴχανε ποσῶς, σὰν σκύλοι ἐβαβοῦσαν.
Γλήγορα ἀπεθάνασι, ποσῶς δὲν ἐβαστάξαν,
ἐκεῖ ποὺ τοὺς ἐσύρνασι τότες γιαμιὰ πλαντάξαν.
'Ετότες πάλι τὸ λοιπὸν σ' ἕνα ποτάμι πᾶμε,
ἐκεῖ γὰρ ἐπεζεύσαμε ὅλοι διὰ νὰ φᾶμε.
'Εκεῖ ηὑρίσκονταν δενδρά, εἰς ὥρας ἓξ αὐξαίνουν,
σὰν ἐπατοῦσαν οἱ ἑπτά, ἀρχίζαν νὰ λιγαίνουν.
Καὶ δάκρυα ἐστάζασι, σὰν μόσχος ἐμυρίζα,
τὸ δάκρυον κατέβαινε εἰς τοῦ δενδροῦ τὴ ρίζα.
Καὶ ὥρισά τους μὲ σπουδὴν τὰ δένδρα νὰ χαράσσουν,
διὰ νὰ στάζῃ τὸ λοιπόν, τὰ δάκρυα νὰ συνάσσουν.
Κ' ἐκεῖνοι ὁποὺ κόπτασι τὰ δένδρη ποὺ μυρίζαν,
ἀόρατοι γὰρ ἄνθρωποι ἐκείνους ἐραβδίζαν.
Οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἐρχόντησαν καὶ ἦσαν πληγωμένοι,
καὶ πλέο δὲν τὰ γγίζασι αὐτεῖν' οἱ ραβδισμένοι.
Τοὺς ραβδισμένους βλέπομε καὶ ὅλοι ἀποροῦμε,
ἐκείνους ποὺ τοὺς δέρνουσι νὰ δοῦμε δὲν μποροῦμε.
Φωνὴ γὰρ ἦλθεν εἰς ἡμᾶς καὶ ἦτον ἀοράτος,
τὰ δένδρη νὰ μὴν κόπτωμε οὐδὲ τὴ μυρωδιά τως.
'Εκεῖθεν ἀσηκώθημαν τότες κ' ἐπερπατοῦμαν,
εἰς ποταμὸν ἐπήγαμε κ' ἐπερικαρτεροῦμαν.
Μαῦρα λιθάρια βρίσκονταν στὸν ποταμὸν ἐκεῖνον,

1585 μασκκτάζει 1529 || 1614 αὐτεῖν' οἱ: αὐτίνοι || 1616 ποροῦμε

καὶ ὅποιος κεῖνος τά 'πιανε, μαύριζ' ὡς Σαρακῆνον.
Ἦσαν καὶ δράκοντες πολλοὶ σ' ἐκεῖνο τὸ ποτάμι,
καὶ μουλωμένοι στέκασι μέσα εἰς τὸ καλάμι.
Εὑρήκαμε καὶ ψάρια, κανεὶς δὲν τὸ θυμήθη,
μέσα 'ς νερὸ τὸ βάλαμε, τότες αὐτεῖνο ψήθη.
Εἰς τὴν φωτιὰ τὰ βάλαμε καὶ ὅλοι ἐφυσοῦσαν,
καὶ τὴν ἱστίαν τίποτες ποσῶς δὲν ἐγρικοῦσαν.
Ἕνας στρατιώτης τὸ λοιπὸν ψάριν εἶχε ξυσμένο,
μέσα στὴν βρύσιν τό 'βαλε κ' ηὑρέθηκε ψημένο.
Λοιπὸν αὐτὸς ὁ στρατηγὸς ἔδειξε τοῦ καθένα
καὶ τὰ ὀψάρια τὸ λοιπὸν σὰν αὖτον τὰ ἐψένα.
Πάλι σ' αὐτὸν τὸν ποταμὸν ὄρνεα εὑρεθῆκα,
ὅποιος ἐκεῖνος τά 'πιανε καίγετον παραυτίκα.
Καὶ τὴ στρατεία ὅρισα αὐτεῖνα νὰ μὴ πιάσουν,
μόνον νὰ τὰ ἀφήνουσι ὡς διὰ νὰ πετάσουν.
Ἐκεῖθεν ἐδιάβημαν κ' ἐχάσαμε τὸν δρόμον,
οἱ στρατιῶτες εἴχανε τότε μεγάλον τρόμον.
Ἐλέγανέ μου τὸ λοιπὸν ὀπίσω νὰ στραφοῦμε,
μηδὲν ὑπᾶμε παραμπρός, μήπως ἐκεῖ χαθοῦμε.
Ἐγὼ τοὺς ὅρισα λοιπὸν ὀμπρὸς νὰ περπατοῦμε,
τὸν τόπον νὰ ξανοίξωμε, τίποτες γιὰ νὰ δοῦμε.
Θεριὰ ἑξάποδα λοιπὸν σ' ἐμᾶς ἐκατεβῆκαν,
οἱ στρατιῶτες τά 'διωχναν κι αὐτεῖνα κρυβηθῆκαν.
Ἤτονε καὶ τὸ μάκρος τους ὡς ἕξι γὰρ πηχάρια,
καὶ ἄλλα ἀπαντήσαμε, πέντέ 'χαν γὰρ ποδάρια.
Καὶ ἄλλα ἀπαντήσαμε, μὲ τρία μάτια ἦσαν,
'ξ ἐκεῖνα οἱ στρατιῶτες μου πολλὰ γὰρ ἀφανίσαν·
καὶ ὅθεν μᾶς ἐβλέπασι, τρέχαν καὶ πιλαλοῦσι,
καὶ πλέα δὲν ἀκαρτεροῦν σ' ἐμᾶς ν' ἀντισταθοῦσι.
Ἐκεῖθεν ἐδιάβημαν, θεριά 'δαμ' ὡς πουλάρια,
τὸ εἶδος τους ἐσύφερνε ὡσὰν ἀγριογαδούρια·
τέσσαρα μάτια εἴχασιν ὁ καθεεὶς ἐξ αὔτους,
ὡσὰν γαδάροι τὸ λοιπὸν ὀρθώνασι τ' ἀφτιά τους.
Εἰς ἄλλον τόπον πήγαμε κ' ἦσαν ἀνθρῶποι ἄλλοι·
λοιπὸν στὸ στῆθος εἴχανε αὐτεῖνοι τὸ κεφάλι.
Τότες τοὺς ἐκοιτάξαμε καὶ βλέπομε καθάρια
καὶ τὴν τροφὴν ποὺ ζούσασι, ἐτρώγασι τὰ ψάρια.

1624 μουρομένοι corr. || 1639 Ἐλεγάν μου C, propter ε finale male impressnm in *ed princ.*

Τόπος ἦτον θαλάσσιος, φῶκες ἦσαν μεγάλες,
ὡσὰν ἐκεῖνες τὸ λοιπὸν ποτὲ οὐκ εἶδα ἄλλες.
Φίλοι μου μὲ παρακαλοῦν ὀπίσω νὰ γυρίσω,
ἐγὼ δὲν ἤθελα ποσῶς αὐτείνους γιὰ ν' ἀκούσω.
Πάλι ἐκαταντήσαμε εἰς ἔρημον γὰρ τόπον
κ' ἤλθαμε 'ς περιθάλασσον μὲ βιὰ πολλὴ καὶ κόπον·
καὶ δὲν ἐβλέπαμε ἐκεῖ ὄρνια οὐδὲ θηρία,
μόνον γὰρ γῆ καὶ οὐρανὸν σ' ἐκείνην τὴν μερία.
Ἡμέρες δέκα κάμαμε ἥλιον γὰρ νὰ δοῦμε,
καὶ λίγο φῶς ἐβλέπαμε, μὲ δαῦτο περπατοῦμε.
Κ' εἰς θάλασσαν διέβημαν καὶ τότε πάλι ἐποῖκα,
καράβια βρήκαμε μικρά, σ' αὐτεῖνα μέσα μπῆκα.
Καὶ ἐξ ἐμᾶς ἐμπήκανε εἰς τὸ καράβι κεῖνο,
κοντὰ 'ς νησὶν διέβημαν, 'κοῦμεν φωνὰς Ἑλλήνων.
Καὶ τὴν φωνὴν ἀκούομε κ' ἐκείνους ποὺ λαλοῦνε
ποσῶς οἱ στρατιῶτες μου οὐδὲν μποροῦν νὰ δοῦνε.
Εἰς τὸ νησὶ ἠθέλαμε ἔξω διὰ νὰ βγοῦμε,
καὶ πάλι ἐφοβήθημαν στὰ λόγια ὁποὺ 'κοῦμε.
Τοὺς στρατιῶτες ὅρισα νὰ πᾶσι γιὰ νὰ δοῦσι,
μέσα ὀλίγο στὸ νησί, νὰ δοῦν τὸ ποιοὶ λαλοῦσι.
Οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἐγδύθηκαν κολύμπου γιὰ νὰ πᾶσι,
τότε καβοῦροι βγήκανε, ἁρπάσσουν νὰ τοὺς φᾶσι.
Ἐπνίξανέ μου τὸ λοιπὸν στρατιῶτες γὰρ σαράντα,
ὅλοι τους ἦσαν διαλεκτοί, πού 'σαν τῆς χρείας πάντα.
Ἐτότες ἐφοβήθημαν, δυὸ μέρες περπατοῦμε,
οὐδὲν μποροῦμαν γὰρ ποσῶς ἥλιον γιὰ νὰ ἰδοῦμε.
Μακάρων χώρα θέλησα νὰ τὴν ἰδῶ ἐκείνη,
εἰς αὔτην τότ' ἐπήγαινα μὲ τὴν ἐσπλαγχνοσύνη.
Ἀγάπουν γὰρ οἱ ἄρχοντες ἐκείνη γιὰ νὰ δοῦσι,
γιατί, ἐλέγαν οἱ σοφοί, αὐτεῖνοι πάντα ζοῦσι.
Ὁ Καλλιστένης, φίλος μου, τότες μοῦ συβουλεύει,
μὲ πεντακόσους χίλιους στὸν τόπον κεῖ νὰ 'δεύη·
ἄλλους σαράντα τὸ λοιπὸν 'κ τοὺς φίλους μου νὰ πάρη,
ἐκεῖ γιὰ νὰ πηγαίνωμε, σ' ἐκεῖνο γὰρ τὸ θάρρει.
Ὄνους γὰρ μοῦ ἐνόησε νά 'ναι στὴν ἐξουσά μου,
καὶ τὸ φουσάτο τὸ λοιπὸν μὴ λείπ' ἀπὸ κοντά μου.
Ἐκεῖ ἐπερπατούσαμε καὶ ἤτονε σκοτάδι,

1678 τοποὶ || 1693 Ο νούς μου γὰρ ἐνόησε, νάμε id est Ὁ νοῦς μου γὰρ ἐνόησε νά 'μαι, emendavi

εἴκοσι μέρες τὸ λοιπὸν μαῦρό 'τον σὰν τὸν Ἄδη.
Καὶ πέντε ἄλλες πήγαμε, ⟨'ς⟩ σκοτάδι περπατοῦμαν,
ἐκεῖ ποὺ περπατούσαμε τινὰν δὲν ἐθωροῦμαν.
Σὲ βρύσιν ἐδιέβημαν, κ' ἔλαμπε τὸ νερό της
ὡσὰν ἡμέρα φωτεινή, ἐτσ' ἔλαμπε τὸ φῶς της.
'Εκεῖ ὅπου πηγαίναμε, στὴ βρύση τότε πάγω,
κι ὄρεξη τότε μὄκαμε ἐμένα γιὰ νὰ φάγω.
Καὶ ὅρισα τὸν μάγερα προσφάγι νὰ 'ρδινιάση,
καὶ παρευθὺς ὁ μάγειρος τάραχον τότ' ἁρπάσσει.
'Εδιάβηκε στὴ φωτεινὴ βρύση γιὰ νὰ τὸ πλύνη
κ' ἔφυγε ὀκ τὰ χέρια του, ὅλο ψαράκι γίνη.
Αὐτὸς ὁ μάγειρος λοιπὸν ἐτότες ἐκομπώθη,
οὐδὲν μοῦ εἶπε τίποτες γιὰ κεῖνο ποὺ ψυχώθη.
'Εκεῖθεν ἐδιάβημαν καὶ ὄρνεα πετοῦσαν,
καὶ εἶχαν ὄψη ἀνθρωπινή, ἐλληνικὰ λαλοῦσαν.
Ἔλεγεν ἔτσι ἡ φωνή· 'Λέξανδρε, τί διαβαίνεις
στὴν γῆν ὁπού 'ναι οἱ θεοί, φουσάτο τί τὸ φέρνεις;
Οὐδὲν μπορεῖς γιὰ νὰ ἰδῇς μακάρων γὰρ τὴ χώρα,
οὐδὲ βαστᾶ σε ἡ ζωὴ νὰ πάγης διὰ τώρα.
Μηδὲν ἀκαρτερῇς λοιπόν, κάμε νὰ πᾶς ὀπίσω.'
Γρικώντας τοῦτο γὰρ ἐγὼ δὲν εἶχα τί νὰ ποίσω.
Καὶ πάλι τότε λέγει μου· 'Σύρε νὰ πολεμήσης
τὸν Πῶρο γὰρ τὸν βασιλιά, ὡς γιὰ νὰ τὸν ὁρίσης.'
'Ομπρὸς ὑπᾶνε τὰ πουλιὰ εἰς τὴν ἐπίσκεψή μας,
κ' εὐτεῖν' ἀκολουθούσαμε καὶ ἦταν ὁδηγοί μας.
Εἴκοσι πέντε τὸ λοιπὸν ἡμέρες περπατοῦμεν,
ποὺ φῶς ἐκάμαμε λαμπρὸν ἐτότες γιὰ νὰ δοῦμεν.
Καὶ εἴπασί μας τὰ πουλιά, ἐκεῖ ποὺ περπατοῦμε,
στὴ γῆ γιὰ νὰ πεζεύσωμε νὰ πάρωμ' ὅ,τι βροῦμε.
Πολλοὶ ἐκ τοὺς στρατιῶτες μου ἀπὸ τὴν γῆν γὰρ παίρνουν,
ἐκ τὸ σκοτάδι βγήκασι, τότε στὸ φῶς παγαίνουν.
Εἰς τὸ σκοτάδι πασαεὶς ἐκεῖνο ποὺ ψηλάφει,
ὡσὰν ἐβγήκασι στὸ φῶς, εὑρέθηκε χρυσάφι.
Τότε ὁ μάγερος λοιπὸν αὐτεῖνο ἐθυμήθη,
ἐκεῖνο ποὺ ψυχώθηκε, τότες μοῦ τὸ 'ξηγήθη.
Τότες ἐγὼ θυμώθηκα, εἶπα καὶ τὸν σκοτώνουν,
στὴν γῆ ἐκείνη ἀπέθανε, σκάφθουν νὰ τόνε χώνουν.

1697 ⟨'ς⟩ supplevi || 1727 ἐκεῖνο ποὺ: ἐκεῖ ὅπου emend.

'Εσᾶς νὰ εὕρη μὲ ὑγειὰ γλήγορα ἡ γραφή μου,
γιὰ νά 'στε πάντα τὸ λοιπὸν εἰς τὴν ἐπίσκεψή μου.»
'Ο δὲ 'Αλέξανδρος λοιπὸν ἤθελε γιὰ νὰ ποίση
μὲ Πῶρον γὰρ τὸν βασιλιὰ νὰ πὰ νὰ πολεμήση.
'Ο τόπος ἤτονε κακός, πετρώδης κ' ἐγογγύζαν,
οἱ Μακεδόνες ὅλοι τους τότε ἐμουρμουρίζαν.
«Καὶ δὲν τὸν σώνει», λέγασι, «Δάρειον ὀπ' ὁρίζει,
μὰ σύρνει μας στὴν ἐρημιά, θὲ νὰ μᾶς τυραννίζη.
Ἂς ἐν ὁ Δάρειος αὐτὸς ἐγύρευέ μας τέλος,
λοιπὸν ἐδώσαμέ του το εἰς τὴν καρδιά του βέλος.
Δὲν σώνει ποὺ μᾶς ἔσυρνε ἐκεῖ στὴν ἐρημίαν,
μὰ λὲ νὰ πολεμήσωμε τοῦ Πώρου βασιλείαν.
Καὶ πάλι τώρα σύρνει μας νὰ πὰ νὰ πολεμοῦμε,
κορμία μας νὰ χάσωμε καὶ νὰ κακοπαθοῦμε.
Ἂν ἔναι ὁ 'Αλέξανδρος σ' αὐτεῖνον μανιωμένος,
ἃς πολεμίζη μοναχός, ἁμά 'ναι ἀνδρειωμένος.»
Σὰν τ' ἄκουσεν 'Αλέξανδρος, τοὺς Μακεδόνας κράζει,
ἀπὸ τοὺς Πέρσες τὸ λοιπὸν σὲ δύο τοὺς μοιράζει.
Καὶ εἶπε· «Στρατιῶτες μου, ἄνδρες συμμαχισμένοι,
εἰπέτε τί σᾶς ἔκαμα καὶ εἶστεν λυπημένοι.
Καὶ λέγετέ μου τὸ λοιπὸν μόνος νὰ πολεμίζω;
Καὶ τοῦτο ἔναι φανερόν, τὰ ἔθνη γὼ 'φανίζω.
Δὲν ἤμουν πάντα μπροστινὸς ὁπὄκαμνα τὴ μάχη;
Πάντα μου σᾶς ἀνάγκαζα γιὰ νά 'στε πολεμάρχοι.
'Εγώ 'καμνα τὰς μηχανὰς σὰν ἕνα παλικάρι,
καὶ δὲ μ' ἐστείλετε ἐσεῖς 'ς Δάρειον 'ποκρισάρη;
Θυμάστεν ποὺ δειλιάζετε σὲ πόλεμον νὰ βγῆτε;
Ὅλους ἐγὼ σᾶς ἔκαμνα διὰ νὰ πολεμῆτε.
Θέλετε νὰ μισέψετε, τινὰς δὲ σᾶς κρατίζει,
οὐδὲ μποδίζει σας κανείς, οὐδὲ σᾶς περιορίζει.
Καὶ ταῦτα λέγω εἰς ἐσᾶς, στρατιὰ οὐδὲν φροντίζει,
δίχως φροντίδα βασιλιῶς τίποτα δὲν ἐχρήζει.»
'Ετοῦτα εἶπ' 'Αλέξανδρος, ὅλοι παρακαλοῦσι
στὰ λόγια ποὺ συντύχασι νὰ τοὺς τὰ συμπαθήση.»
Καὶ ὅλοι τὸν παρακαλοῦν νὰ παύση τὴν ὀργήν του
καί, ὅ,τι ὁρίσ' 'Αλέξανδρος, νὰ εἶναι στὴν βουλήν του.
Εἰς ἔξι μέρες τὸ λοιπὸν στὰ ὄρη Ἴνδων σώνουν,

Post 1734 (1734a) Περὶ τὸ πῶς ἤθελε ὁ 'Αλέξανδρος νὰ πολεμήση μὲ τὸν Πῶρον (titulus)

ἐκεῖ γὰρ ἀπεζεύσασι ὅλοι τους καὶ τεντώνουν.
᾿Απὸ τοῦ Πώρου ἄνθρωπος εἰς τὸ φουσάτο μπαίνει,
γραφὴν ἐβάστα τὸ λοιπόν, Λεξάνδρου τὴν παγαίνει·
«῾Ο Πῶρος τοῦ ᾿Αλέξανδρου λέγει του πῶς ὁδεύεις
καὶ περπατεῖς ὁλόγυρα τὲς χῶρες καὶ κουρσεύεις.
᾿Εγρίκησα καὶ ἔρχεσαι ἐδῶ νὰ πολεμήσης.
᾿Επεὶ λογᾶσαι ἄνθρωπος, τί ἔχεις θεοῦ νὰ ποίσης;
Καὶ παρὰ πάντας ἄνθρωπος πλεώτερος λογᾶσαι;
᾿Εγὼ ποὺ εἶμαι ἄκτιστος, κάμε νὰ μὲ φοβᾶσαι.
῎Οχι ἀνθρώπους μοναχὰ γρικᾶς ἐγὼ τὶ ορίζω,
ἀμὴ ὁρίζω καὶ θεοὺς κ᾿ ἐδῶθεν τοὺς ξορίζω.
Κι ὁ Διονύσιος θεὸς ἐδῶθεν ἔδωξά τον,
μὲ τὴ δική μου δύναμιν μακρὰ ἐξόρισά τον.
Οὐ μόνον συβουλεύω σε νὰ ᾿λθῆς νὰ πολεμήσης,
μὰ μάλιστα ὁρίζω σε ὀπίσω νὰ γυρίσης·
γιατὶ ἔσφαξες τὸν Δάρειον, τίποτες δὲν ψηφοῦμε,
ἄνανδρον γὰρ ἐσκότωσες, μὰ γὼ δὲ σὲ φοβοῦμαι.
Λοιπὸν γύρισε γλήγορα, σύρε μὲ τὴν τιμή σου,
τὴν δύναμίν σου τὸ λοιπὸν μέσα σου τὴν θυμήσου.»
Σὰν ἀναγνῶσαν τὴν γραφήν, πασάνας ἐπικράθη.
Καὶ τότε ὁ ᾿Αλέξανδρος ἐγύρισε κ᾿ ἐστάθη
καὶ εἶπε· «Στρατιῶτες μου, τοῦ Πώρου τὰ χαρτιά του
μηδὲν φοβῆστε τίποτες εἰς τὴν ἀλαζονειά του.
Καὶ δὲν θυμάστε Δάρειος πὄγραφε τόσα βάρη;
῎Ετσι τὸ ἔχουν τὸ λοιπὸν νὰ γράφουν οἱ βαρβάροι.
Θέλουν νὰ μεγαλύνωνται αὐτοὶ τῇ διανοίᾳ
καὶ ἐξ ὑστέρου πέφτουσι ᾿ς μεγάλη γὰρ πενία.
᾿Ολπίζω πρῶτον στοὺς θεούς, στὴν ἀνεξικακιά μας,
δεύτερον στὴν ἀγάπην μας κ᾿ εἰς τὴν ὁμόνοιά μας,
ὄχι τὸν Πῶρον μοναχὸν ἐμεῖς νὰ πολεμοῦμε,
ἀμὴ καὶ ἄλλους βασιλεῖς νὰ τοὺς ἀντισταθοῦμε.»
Καὶ ταῦτα εἶπ᾿ ᾿Αλέξανδρος, ὅλοι καλοκαρδίσαν,
διὰ νὰ πᾶσι ᾿ς πόλεμον ὅλοι τους ἀγαποῦσαν.
Καὶ ἔγραψε ἐπιστολὴ τοῦ Πώρου καὶ τὴν στέλλει,
ἐκεῖ ἔγραφεν ᾿Αλέξανδρος ἐκεῖνα ὁποὺ θέλει·
«Βασιλεὺς γὰρ ᾿Αλέξανδρος τοῦ Πώρου γὰρ ἐμήνει

Post 1770 (1770a) Περὶ τὸ πῶς ἦλθαν ἀποκρισάροι τοῦ Πώρου εἰς ᾿Αλέξανδρον (titulus) || Post 1804 (1804a) ᾿Επιστολὴ ποὺ ἔστειλεν ὁ ᾿Αλέξανδρος τοῦ Πώρου (titulus)

(γραφὴν μὲ γνῶσιν ἔκαμε, τιμὴν καὶ σωφροσύνη).
Γίνωσκε, Πῶρο βασιλεῦ, ὅτ᾿ ἡ ἐπιστολή σου
σὲ πόλεμον μ᾿ ἀνάγκασε, αὐτείνη ἡ γραφή σου.
Καὶ λὲς ὅτ᾿ εἶσαι πλούσιος κι ὁρίζεις δίχως κόπον,
ἐγὼ ηὑρίσκομαι πτωχὸς καὶ ἐνδεὴς γὰρ τόπων.
Καὶ ἔχεις πολλά, λέγεις μου, καὶ εἶσαι ἀξιωμένος,
νὰ πάρω θέλω ἀπὸ σὲν ἐγὼ ὁ στερημένος.
Καὶ λέγεις μου τ᾿ εἶσαι θεός, καὶ τί ἔχω γιὰ νὰ ποίσω,
μά γὼ θεὸν δὲν ἔρχομαι διὰ νὰ πολεμήσω,
μὰ ἔρχομαι εἰς ἄνθρωπον κ᾿ εἰς Πῶρον κομπωμένον,
κ᾿ εἰς βασιλιὰ ἀλάζονα, μάλιστα κ᾿ ἐπηρμένον.
Γιὰ κεῖνα, ὁπού ἔκαμα, λέγεις οὐδὲν ποιᾶσαι,
γιὰ Δάρειον ποὺ σκότωσα τίποτα δὲν φοβᾶσαι.
Τὰ λόγια σου τὰ εὔκαιρα λέγεις γιὰ νὰ φοβοῦμαι,
οὐδὲ στὸν νοῦ μου βάνω τα, οὐδὲν τὰ ἐθυμοῦμαι,
μὰ ἔρχομαι ἀπάνου σου μὲ δυνατοῦ ραβδίου,
θαρρῶ νὰ πάθης τὸ λοιπὸν τὰ ὅμοια Δαρείου.»
῾Ο Πῶρος σὰν τὸ ἤκουσε, στρατιά του τότες κράζει,
καὶ ὅλα τὰ φουσάτα του εἰς πόλεμ᾿ ὀρδινιάζει.
᾿Ορδίνιασαν καὶ τὰ θηριὰ αὐτὰ νὰ πολεμήσουν,
λέφαντες κι ἄλλες γενεές, σ᾿ αὐτοὺς νὰ τ᾿ ἀπολύσουν.
Τοῦ Πώρου ἐπλησίαζε φουσάτο του νὰ σώση,
᾿Αλέξανδρος θαυμάζεται τὴν δύναμιν τὴν τόση.
Οὐχὶ γιὰ τὴ στρατεία του καὶ διὰ τὸν λαόν του,
οὐδὲν τὴν εἶχ᾿ ᾿Αλέξανδρος αὐτείνη στὸν σκοπόν του,
μὸν τὰ θηριά, τοὺς λέφαντας, μ᾿ ἐκεῖνα ὁποὺ πάγει,
σ᾿ ἐκεῖνα γὰρ ᾿Αλέξανδρος περίσσια ἐξεπλάγη.
Ροῦχα τ᾿ ἀλλάσσ᾿ ᾿Αλέξανδρος μ᾿ ὅλη τὴν ὄρεξή του
᾿ς Πώρου φουσάτο γιὰ νὰ μπῆ, νὰ δῆ τὴ δύναμή του.
῾Ωσὰν ἐμπῆκε ᾿Αλέξανδρος στὴ μέση τοῦ φουσάτου,
ἐκεῖ τότε τὸν ἔπιασαν τοῦ Πώρου ἡ στρατιά του.
᾿Επῆραν τὸν ᾿Αλέξανδρον, θὲ νὰ τὸν ὑπαγαίνουν
σὲ Πῶρον γὰρ τὸν βασιλιά, ὀμπρός του τόνε φέρνουν.
῾Ο Πῶρος τὸν ἐρώτησε, λέγει του· «Πόθεν εἶσαι;
Εἰπές μου τὴν ἀλήθεια, τίποτες μὴ φοβῆσαι.»
᾿Απιλογήθ᾿ ᾿Αλέξανδρος· «Στρατιώτης του γὰρ εἶμαι,

1806 τιμὴν: τήν με emend. || 1811 καίχεις corr. metri causa || Post 1832 (1832a) Περὶ τὸ πῶς ἐδιάβη ᾿Αλέξανδρος εἰς τοῦ Πώρου τὸ φουσάτο (titulus) || 1841 στρατίτης edd.

τ' Ἀλέξανδρου π' ἀκούετε, ἡ σὴ δύναμις φοβεῖ με.»
Ὁ Πῶρος τότε εἶπε του· «Εἶδε με ὀφθαλμός σου,
τὴν δύναμή μου τὸ λοιπὸν εἰπέ του τ' ἀφεντός σου.
Τί θέλει γιὰ νὰ μάχεται Ἀλέξανδρος μ' ἐμένα,
τόσα φουσάτα τὸ λοιπὸν ὀπὄχω καμωμένα;»
Ὁ Πῶρος σὰν ἐμίλησε Ἀλέξανδρον ἀφήνει,
κι Ἀλέξανδρος ἐσκόπησε τὴ δύναμή του κείνη.
Ἐδιάβη στὸ φουσάτο του, τέχνη κατασκευάζει,
τεχνίτες εἶχε περισσούς, τότες τοὺς ὀρδινιάζει.
Χυτοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἔκαμε, κάρβουνα τοὺς γεμίζει,
καὶ τὸ φουσάτο σίμωσε τοῦ Πώρου καὶ συγγίζει.
Ὁ Πῶρος γὰρ ἀπόλυσε τοὺς λέφας μὲ μανία,
καὶ τούτους ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος εἶχε τους σ' ὀρδινία.
Ὡς εἴδασι γὰρ τὰ θηριὰ ἐκείνους ὁποὺ στέκουν,
νομίζουν τ' εἶναι ἄνθρωποι, τὲς στῆλες περιπλέκουν.
Καὶ τὰ φουσάτα σμίξασι πόλεμον γιὰ νὰ κρούξουν,
καὶ τὰ θηριὰ οὐδὲν τρομοῦν κανένα γιὰ νὰ γγίξουν.
Κ' ἐκρούσανε τὸν πόλεμον καθένας κ' ἐπολέμα,
ἐκ τὰ κορμιά τους ἔβλεπες ὁπὄτρεχε τὸ αἷμα.
Ὁπὄναι ἄνδρας γὰρ καλός, μὲ τὸ κονδάρ' ἀμπώθει·
τ' ἄλογο τοῦ Ἀλέξανδρου ἐκεῖ γὰρ ἐσκοτώθη.
Εἴκοσι πέντε μέρες γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι πολεμοῦσαν,
ἔξω στὸν κάμπον στέκασι καὶ πόλεμον βαροῦσαν.
Σὰν εἶδε ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος, φθέρνεται τὸ φουσάτο,
κάμνουνε ἀνακάτωμα καὶ πᾶσι ἄνω κάτω,
τοῦ Πώρου γὰρ ἐμήνησε γιὰ νὰ μονομαχήσουν,
οἱ δυό τους τότες νὰ σταθοῦν ὡς γιὰ νὰ πολεμήσουν.
Ὁ Πῶρος σὰν τὸ ἤκουσε μεγάλως τὸ ἐχάρη,
νὰ πολεμήσ' Ἀλέξανδρον πάντα αὐτὸς ἐθάρρει·
γιατ' ἦτον μέγας στὸ κορμὶ κ' εἶχε καὶ πολιτεία,
Ἀλέξανδρος ηὑρίσκετον μικρὸς στὴν ἡλικία.
Καὶ τότες ἁρματώθησαν οἱ δυὸ νὰ πολεμήσουν,
στὴ μέση γὰρ ἐστάθησαν νὰ κονταροκτυπήσουν.
Ἐτότες ἀρχινήσασι, ἕνας τ' ἀλλοῦ κτυποῦσι,
σάλπιγγες, ἄλλα βούκινα τότες ἐκεῖ βαροῦσι.
Ἐκεῖ ποὺ πολεμούσανε, θόρυβος γὰρ ἐγίνη,
τοῦ Πώρου γὰρ οἱ στρατηγοὶ μαλώνουσιν ἐκεῖνοι.

1849 Ἐδίαουη edd. || Ante 1859 add. C ὅπο τον ἔκαμαν τὸν πόλεμον τοῦ πόρου τὰ φουσάτα καὶ τοῦ ἀλεξάνδρου || Post 1874 add. C πόλεμος τοῦ πόρου μετὰ τοῦ ἀλεξάνδρου

Ὁ Πῶρος γὰρ ἐγύρισε νὰ δῆ τὴ στρατιά του,
Ἀλέξανδρος γὰρ κονδαριὰ ἔδωκε στὰ πλευρά του.
Καὶ Πῶρον ἔτσ' ἐσκότωσε Λέξανδρος μὲ κονδάρι,
ὁ Πῶρος δὲν τὸ ὄλπιζε, οὐδὲ ποσῶς τὸ θάρρει.
μὰ ἔκρενε στὸν λογισμὸν πῶς θέλει τὸν νικήσει,
μὰ τώρα ἐνικῆσαν τον, δὲν ἔχει τί νὰ ποίση.
Καὶ ὅταν πάθη ὁ λωλός, τότε γιαμιὰ φροντίζει,
ἐκεῖνο ποὺ τοῦ ἔρχεται, καθάρια τὸ γνωρίζει.
Ἡ πρώτη γνώση τὸ λοιπὸν ἔναι ὁποὺ ὁρίζει,
ἡ ξυστερνὴ μετάγνωση τίποτες δὲν ἀξίζει.
Σὰν εἴδασι οἱ στρατηγοὶ τὸν Πῶρον ποὺ σκοτώθη,
ἀπὸ τὰ χέρι' Ἀλέξανδρου τὸ πῶς ἐθανατώθη,
καὶ πάλι τὰ στρατεύματα τοῦ Πώρου πολεμοῦσι,
τοὺς Μακεδόνες τὸ λοιπὸν αὐτεῖνοι τοὺς βαροῦσι.
Καὶ εἶπε τους Ἀλέξανδρος· «Ἐσεῖς τί πολεμεῖτε;
Ἀφέντη σας ἐχάσατε, σὲ ποιὸν τώρα θαρρεῖτε;»
Κι αὐτεῖνοι πιλογήθησαν· «Νὰ μὴ χμαλωτιστοῦμε,
ἡμεῖς στοὺς στρατιῶτες σου σκλάβοι νὰ μὴ γενοῦμε.»
Καὶ εἶπε τους Ἀλέξανδρος· «Κάθεστε 'ρηνεμένοι,
ἀμέτε εἰς τὰ σπίτια σας ὅλοι λευθερωμένοι.»
Ἀκούοντα οἱ στρατηγοὶ πλέο δὲν πολεμοῦσι,
μὰ ἔρχουνται σ' Ἀλέξανδρον, ὅλοι τὸν προσκυνοῦσι.
Τότε ὅρισ' Ἀλέξανδρος τὸν Πῶρον ν' ἀναπάψουν,
σ' ἕνα κιβούρι ὄμορφο μέσα νὰ τόνε θάψουν.
Τοῦ Πώρου γὰρ τὴν δύναμιν κι ὅλη τὴ στρατιά του
ἐπῆρε την Ἀλέξανδρος, κ' ἔναι στὸ θέλημά του.
Ἐμίσευσεν Ἀλέξανδρος, ἐκεῖ δὲν ἀνιμένει,
στοὺς Ἐξηδάρκους πήγαινε διατ' ἦσαν ὁρισμένοι.
Καὶ δὲν ἐπήγαινε σ' αὐτοὺς διὰ νὰ πολεμήση,
διότις ἦσανε γυμνοί, δὲν ἔχει τί τοὺς ποίσει.
Ἐκεῖνοι, λέγω, ἄνθρωποι ἦσαν σοφοὶ μεγάλοι,
εἰς τῆς σοφιᾶς τὸ μάθημα οὐδὲν ηὑρίσκοντ' ἄλλοι.
Δραχμάνες γὰρ τοὺς λέγουσι κ' ἤτανε γυμνωμένοι,
σοφίας γὰρ τὸ μάθημα πολλὰ 'νιαι προκομμένοι.
Καλύβια εἶν τὰ σπίτια τους, σὲ σπήλαια κοιμοῦνται,
νύκτα κ' ἡμέρα τὸ λοιπὸν τὸν θάνατον φοβοῦνται.
Ὡσὰν ἐμάθαν τὸ λοιπὸν Ἀλέξανδρος ἐμπαίνει,

1895 Νὰ μὴ χμ. : νὰ αἰχμ. emend.

γραφὴ τότε τοῦ στείλασι γιὰ νά 'νιαι φυλαμένοι·
«Δραχμάνες γυμνοσοφισταὶ σ' 'Αλέξανδρον μηνοῦμε,
ἃ θέλης νά 'λθης εἰς ἐμᾶς, τίποτες δὲν ψηφοῦμε.
Λοιπὸν τέλος σοῦ στέλνομε καὶ τοῦτο ἃ σ' ἀρέση,
τίποτες ἡ στρατεία σου 'ξ ἐμᾶς δὲ θὲ κερδαίσει.
'Ημεῖς γυμνοὶ βρισκόμεστεν κ' ἔχομε στενωσία,
ἄλλο δὲν ἔναι εἰς ἐμᾶς, εἴμητα γὰρ σοφία.
Ἂν ἔλθ' ἀγάπη εἰς ἐμᾶς κ' ἐμεῖς γιὰ νὰ σταθοῦμε,
ἔχομε ρωταπόκρισες νὰ σᾶς ἀποκριθοῦμε.»
Λοιπὸν ἐδιάβ' 'Αλέξανδρος εἰς αὔτους μὲ εἰρήνη
καὶ ἔδειξέ τους τὸ λοιπὸν πολλὴν εὐσπλαγχνοσύνη.
'Αλέξανδρος τοὺς ἐρωτᾶ, σπήλαια εἶν ζωή τους·
αὐτεῖνοι ἀποκρίθησαν, αὐτά 'νιαι κ' ἡ θανή τους.
Καὶ πάλι τοὺς ἐρώτησε· «Ζωή 'ναι πληθυσμένοι
ἐκεῖνοι π' ἀπόθανασι κ' εἶναι στὴ γῆ βαλμένοι;»
'Εκεῖνοι ἀποκρίθησαν· «Δὲν εἶν ἀποθαμένοι,
διότις πάντα ἡ ψυχὴ ἀθάνατος γὰρ μένει.»
Καὶ πάλι τοὺς ἐρώτησε· «Θάνατος κυριεύει,
ἢ ἡ ζωὴ καθολικὰ τὸν κόσμον ἀφεντεύει;»
'Εκεῖνοι ἀποκρίθησαν· «Ζωή 'ναι ποὺ φροντίζει,
αὐτείνη ἔναι τὸ λοιπὸν ὅλα ὁποὺ τὰ 'ρίζει.»
Καὶ εἶπε ὁ 'Αλέξανδρος· «Πῶς τοῦτο διαβαίνει,
ποὺ πασαένας τὸ λοιπὸν θάνατον ἀνιμένει;»
'Απιλογήθη ὁ γυμνός· «Πλεώτερο ὁδεύει,
ὄνταν ἐβγαίνη ἥλιος παρ' ὄντα βασιλεύη.»
Καὶ πάλι τοὺς ἐρώτησε· «Ποία 'ναι πλεωτέρα,
ἡ θάλασσα γὰρ ἢ ἡ γῆς, πὄναι στερεωτέρα;»
'Εκεῖνοι ἀποκρίθησαν· «Νερό 'ναι ἀποπάνω,
ἡ γῆς ἔναι πλεώτερη, τοῦτο σ' ἀναθιβάνω.»
Καὶ ἄλλο τοὺς ἐρώτησε· «Ποιὸ ζὸ πονηρεμένο
ἀπάνω σ' ὅλα τὸ λοιπὸν νά 'ν διδασκαλεμένο;»
'Εκεῖνοι ἀποκρίθησαν· «Ἄνθρωπος ἒν π' ὁρίζει,
εἶτι ἒν ἀπάνω εἰς τὴν γῆν αὐτὸς τὰ περιορίζει.»
Εἶπε του ὁ 'Αλέξανδρος· «Πῶς τοῦτο ἐγρικᾶται;»
'Απιλογήθη ὁ γυμνός, ἀτός του ἀνοᾶται.
Καὶ εἶπε του· «'Αλέξανδρε, τί πάγεις καὶ ταράσσεις,
καὶ ἄλλων ζώων τὴν τροφὴ ὑπᾶς καὶ τὴν ἁρπάσσεις;»

Post 1916 (1916a) 'Επιστολὴ ὁποὺ ἔστειλαν οἱ Δραχμάνες εἰς 'Αλέξανδρον (titulus)

'Ο δὲ 'Αλέξανδρος λοιπὸν ποσῶς δὲν ἐθυμώθη,
μᾶλλον, 'ξ ἐκεῖνο πού 'τονε, πλέο ἐταπεινώθη.
Καὶ πάλι τοὺς ἐρώτησε· «Τὸ τί ἔναι βασιλεία;»
'Εκεῖνοι ἀποκρίθησαν· «Ἔναι πλεονεξία.»
Καὶ πάλι τοὺς ἐρώτησε· «Ποιὰ ἔναι πλεωτέρα,
ἡ νύξ, ὁπὄναι σκοτεινή, ἢ φωτεινὴ ἡμέρα;»
'Εκεῖνοι τ' ἀποκρίθησαν· «Νὺξ ἔναι πλεωτέρα,
διότις σκότος τὸ παιδὶ ἔχει εἰς τὴν γαστέρα.
Κι ἀπέκει ἔρχεται τὸ φῶς καὶ βλέπει τὴν ἡμέρα,
τότε γνωρίζει τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ κόσμου τὸν ἀέρα.»
Καὶ ἄλλο τοὺς ἐρώτησε· «Τί πράμα δὲν γελᾶται;»
'Εκεῖνοι ἀποκρίθησαν· «Θεὸς δὲν ἀπατᾶται.»
Καὶ ἄλλο τοὺς ἐρώτησε· «Ποία 'ναι καλλιοτέρα,
ἡ δεξιά, ὡσὰν ὑπά, ἢ ἡ ἀριστοτέρα;»
'Εκεῖνοι ἀποκρίθησαν· «Ζερβὴ ἒν χαριτωμένη,
διότι καὶ ὁ ἥλιος ἀριστερὰ παγαίνει,
καὶ ἡ γυναίκα τὸ βυζί τ' ἀριστερό της πιάνει,
ὁποὺ τὸ δίδει τοῦ παιδιοῦ κι αὐτεῖνο τὸ βυζάνει·
καὶ οἱ μεγάλοι βασιλεῖς, ὅπου καὶ ἂν σταθοῦσι,
τὰ σκῆπτρα ὅλα βασιλειᾶς ἀριστερὰ κρατοῦσι.»
Γρικώντας ὁ 'Αλέξανδρος ἐκεῖ τοὺς συμμαζώνει,
κ' εἶπε τους, ὅ,τι θέλουσι καθένας, νὰ πληρώνη.

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'Εκεῖνοι ἀπεκρίθησαν· «Θάνατος ἔν σ' ἐσένα,
γιατί γυρεύεις τὸ λοιπὸν τὰ πράματα τὰ ξένα.
Ὅλα τὰ θὲς ἀφήσει δῶ, τίποτες δὲν κερδαίνεις,
ἄφες τοὺς στρατιῶτες σου, μηδὲν τοὺς παραδέρνης.»
'Απιλογήθ' 'Αλέξανδρος· «Τοῦτα Θεὸς τὰ κάνει,
ὀξ ἕνα τόπον παίρνει τα, εἰς ἄλλον γὰρ τὰ βάνει.
Εἰς τοὺς θεοὺς ηὑρίσκομαι καὶ εἶμαι οἰκονόμος,
αὐτεῖνοι μὲ ὁρίζουσι, σ' αὐτὰ οὐκ ἔναι νόμος.
Οὐδὲ ἡ θάλασσα λοιπὸν αὐτείνη οὐδὲν σέται,
μά, σὰν φυσήση ἄνεμος, ἀρχίζει καὶ βρουχιέται.
Λοιπὸν ἡ ἄνω πρόνοια ὅλα τοῦτα τὰ κάνει,
ἄλλος κερδαίνει μὲ χαρὰ κι ἄλλος μὲ λύπη χάνει.
Σὰν οἰκονόμος τὸ λοιπὸν τὰ πράματα γὰρ παίρνει,

Post 1974 lacunam statui; cf. Kroll 105. 10-11. || 1979 κάμνει corr. || 1980 πέρνετα edd. || 1984 βρουχέται corr.

'ξ ἕναν αὐθέντην παίρνει τα κ' εἰς ἄλλον γὰρ τὰ φέρνει.»
Καὶ τοῦτα εἶπ' 'Αλέξανδρος, ἀποχαιρέτησέ τους,
ἀπόκειθεν ἐμίσευσε τότες καὶ ἄφησέ τους.
Ἔγραψε τότ' ἐπιστολὴ εἰς τὸν διδάσκαλόν του,
τ' 'Αριστοτέλη τὸ λοιπόν, ἀπὸ τὸ μερτικόν του.
«Βασιλεὺς 'Αλέξανδρος τιμίῳ Ριστοτέλει,
ὁ μαθητής σ' 'Αλέξανδρος χαιρετισμὸν σοῦ στέλλει.
Νὰ γράψω ἐπεθύμησα ἐσένα τί ἐγίνη
στὴν χώραν γὰρ τὴν 'Ινδικήν, ὁπὄκαμαν ἐκεῖνοι.
Παίρνω καμπόσους ἐξ ἐμᾶς, 'ς κάτεργα μέσα μπαίνω,
εἰς περιγιάλι τὸ λοιπὸν πάγω κ' ἐκεῖ ἐβγαίνω.
'Εκεῖ ἀνθρώπους εἴδαμεν, ὁπὄτρωγαν τὰ ψάρια,
τὰ πρόσωπά 'χαν ὄμορφα σὰν γυναικὸς καθάρια.
'Ετότες ἐκαθίσαμε ἐκεῖ ν' ἀναπαυτοῦμε,
τότες νησάκιν εἴδαμεν κι ὅλοι γι' αὐτὸ ρωτοῦμε.
Καὶ εἴπασί μας· 'Στὸ νησὶ τάφος ἒν γεναμένος,
ὁλόγυρά 'ναι εὔμορφα χρυσοπαλαμισμένος.'
'Ηθέλησα εἰς τὸ νησὶ μέσα νὰ ταξιδέψω,
τὸν τάφον κεῖνον τὸ λοιπὸν καλὰ νὰ τόνε γνέψω.
Οἱ φίλοι μου δὲν μ' ἄφηκαν μέσα γιὰ νὰ παγαίνω,
εἴπασί μου γιὰ τὴ στρατιὰ πάντά 'ξω γιὰ νὰ μένω·
νὰ πᾶνε μέσα ἐξ αὐτοὺς τότες μὲ συβουλεύουν,
νὰ βροῦνε μέσα στὸ νησὶ ἐκεῖνο ποὺ γυρεύουν.
Κι ἂν κινδυνέψουν, μοῦ 'πασι, ὡς διὰ νὰ πιστέψω,
ἐγὼ μὲ τὴ στρατεία μου πάλι γιὰ νὰ 'πιστρέψω.
Τὴν γῆν ἐκείνη, μοῦ 'πασι, ἔχω ἀφεντεμένη,
ἂν ἔλθῃ θάνατος σ' ἐμέν, χάνεται ⟨ἡ⟩ οἰκουμένη.
'Εφάνη μου καλὴ βουλὴ φίλους μου γιὰ νὰ πέψουν,
στὴν βάρκαν μέσα νά 'μπουσι κ' εἰς τὸ νησὶ νὰ 'δέψουν.
'Ως μίαν ὥραν τὸ λοιπὸν τὴ βάρκα βλέπαμέ την,
θεριὸν ἐβγῆκε 'κ τὸ νησὶ τότε καὶ βούλιαξέ την.
'Επνίγησαν οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἐτότες παραυτίκα,
ἔκλαυσα καὶ τοὺς φίλους μου κ' εἶχα μεγάλη πρίκα.
'Απὸ τοὺς γυναικόμορφους εἶπα νὰ μοῦ πιάσουν,
καὶ νὰ τοὺς σκοτώνουσι, εἰς ἄκρος νὰ χαλάσουν.
'Επήγαιναν νὰ πιάσουσι κ' ἔφευγε κ' ἐσυντήρει,
ὀκτὼ ἡμέρες ἔκαμα σ' ἐκεῖνο τὸ 'κρωτήρι.

Post 1992 (1992a) 'Επιστολὴ ὁποὺ ἔστειλεν ὁ 'Αλέξανδρος εἰς 'Αριστοτέλην τὸν διδάσκαλόν του (titulus) || 1994 μαθητήσ' ἀλέξανδρος edd. || 2014 ⟨ἡ⟩ supplevi

'Ελέφαντας ηὑρίσκαμεν κι ὅλοι καβαλικέψαν,
στὴ χώρα γὰρ τὴν 'Ινδικὴν ἐπῆγαν κ' ἐπεζέψαν.
Ἔκρινα γοῦν στὸν λογισμὸν ὡς διὰ νὰ μὴν πάψω,
εἴτι παράξενο ἰδῶ, σ' ἐσένα νὰ τὸ γράψω.
Νικώντας μεῖς τὸν Δάρειον ἐπερπατούσαμ' ὅλοι,
κ' ἐδῶ κ' ἐκεῖ πηγαίναμε, ὅθεν κι ἃ μᾶς ἐβόλει.
Στὴν 'Ινδικὴν ἐδιάβημαν καὶ περικαρτεροῦμε,
στὴν ἔρημον κινήσαμε τότες καὶ περπατοῦμε.
Εἰς ἕνα τόπον εἴδαμε παλάτια γὰρ ὡραῖα,
λεκάνες εἶδα 'λόχρυσες σ' ἐκείνη τὴ μερέα.
Καὶ νά 'βανε ἡ καθεμιὰ ὡς μέτρα γὰρ πενήντα,
πιστεύω δυὸ νὰ βάνασι ἕως τὰ ἐνενήντα.
Εἶπαν μας οἱ ἐντόπιοι, κεῖθεν ποὺ διαβοῦμε,
ὀφίδια βρίσκονται κακὰ κ' εἶπαν μου νὰ φοβοῦμαι.
Εἶπα το τῆς στρατείας μου, αὐτείνη νὰ τὸ γνώθῃ.
Τότες πάλι τὴν ὅρισα ἐκεῖ καὶ ἁρματώθη
καὶ δέκα μέρες τὸ λοιπὸν τότες περιπατοῦμε,
'ς χώρά 'ρημ' ἀπεζεύσαμε διὰ ν' ἀναπαυτοῦμε.
'Εκείν' ἡ χώρα τὸ λοιπὸν σὲ δυὸ ποτάμια στέκει,
καὶ τὸ νερό 'τονε πικρό, ὁποὺ τὴν περιπλέκει.
Γδύνονται 'κ τοὺς στρατιῶτες μου, στὸν ποταμὸν ἐμπῆκαν,
θηριὸ ἐξέβη εἰς αὐτούς, σαράντα ἐπνιγῆκαν.
'Εκεῖθεν τότ' ἐξέβημαν 'κ τὴ δίψ' ἀποθαμένοι,
τὰ κάτουρά τους γιὰ νὰ πιοῦν ἦταν πολλὰ χρειασμένοι.
Εἰς λίμνη καταντήσαμε, ὅλοι νερὸ γὰρ πίνουν,
κι ὡς μέλι ἤτονε γλυκύ, λέγουν ἐκεῖ νὰ μείνουν.
Στήλη ἀνθρώπου τὸ λοιπὸν ἐκεῖ 'τονε γραμμένη·
'Μωσῆς ἐγώ 'βρα τὸ νερό, νὰ πιῇ ὁποὺ διαβαίνει.'
'Εφάγαμε κ' ἐπίαμε κι ὅλοι ἐχορταστῆκαν,
ἔπεσαν ὅλοι ξέγνοιαστοι ἐκεῖ κι ἀναπαυτῆκαν.
Καὶ ὥρᾳ τρίτῃ τῆς νυκτὸς ἀκούουν καὶ κτυποῦσι,
τοῦ τόπου κείνου τὰ θηριὰ ἦλθαν νὰ ποτιστοῦσι.
Ἦσαν σκορπίοι φοβεροί, πασάνας ἕναν πῆχαν,
ἄσπροι καὶ μαῦροι, κόκκινοι, κεντριὰ μεγάλα εἶχαν.
Εἴδαμε γὰρ καὶ λέοντες κ' ἦσαν ὡσὰν ταυρία,
εἴδαμε ξενοχάραγα ἄλλα ἐκεῖ θηρία,
εἴδαμε ἀγριοχοίρια μεγάλα σὰν βουβάλια,

2034 εἶδ' ἀλόχρυσε edd., corr. || 2052 πῆ corr.

ἐστέκασι τὰ δόντια τους ἔξω ὥσπερ διχάλια.
Ἐκεῖ ἄνθρωποι βρίσκονταν κ' εἴχασιν ἔξι χέρια,
ἔσφαξαν οἱ στρατιῶτες μου πολλοὺς μετὰ μαχαίρια.
Πολλοὺς ὀκ τοὺς στρατιῶτες μου τ' ἄγρια θηριὰ σκοτώνουν,
καὶ τὸ φαρμάκι ἔριχναν αὐτοὺς καὶ θανατώνουν.
Ὅρισα τὸ φουσάτο μου τότες καὶ ἀρματώθη,
ἐκ τὰ θηρία τὰ κακὰ τότες γιαμιὰ λυτρώθη.
Ὅρισα τότε κ' ἔβαλαν ἱστία στὸ καλάμι,
τότες ἐκεῖθεν ἔφυγαν, δὲν εἶχαν πλιὸ δυνάμη.
Θηρίον ἦλθε εἰς ἐμᾶς κ' ἔμοιαζεν ὥσπερ λέφα,
εἴκοσι πέντε σύντριψε ἀνθρώπους τότε κ' ἔφα.
Μαλώνουσι μὲ τὸ θηριὸ τότε τὰ παλικάρια
καὶ τὸ θηριὸ σκοτώνουσι τότες μετὰ κονδάρια.
Τρακόσοι ἄνδρες τὸ λοιπὸν μὲ βίας τὸ ἐπῆραν,
ἀπὸ τὴν στράταν τό 'βγαλαν, μὲ κόπον τὸ ἐσύραν.
Ἐκεῖ ποὺ περπατούσαμε, φεγγάρι σκοτεινιάζει,
εἰς ἄλλην λίμνην ἤλθαμε καὶ σὰν τὴν ἄλλην μοιάζει.
Στὴν λίμνην κείνην εἴδαμε ἐτότες ἀλεποῦδες,
πῆχες ὀκτὼ τὸ μάκρος τους, χοντρὲς ὡσὰν ἀρκοῦδες.
Καὶ εἴδαμε κορκόνδειλους μεγάλους σὰν βουβάλια,
ἦσαν κι ἄλλοι μικρότεροι ὡσὰν ἀγριοδαμάλια.
Καὶ νυκτερίδες εἴδαμε, δόντιά 'χαν σὰν σκυλία,
μεγάλες ἦσαν σὰν γατιὰ κ' εἴχασι καὶ μαλλία.
Ἐκεῖθεν τότε βγήκαμε, πᾶμε ἀλλοῦ νὰ δοῦμε,
καὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρες τὸ λοιπὸν τότε περιπατοῦμε.
Ὡσὰν ἐπήγαμε ὀμπρὸς στὴν στράταν γὰρ τὴν ἄλλη,
ἀνεμοζάλη γίνετον κ' ἦτον πολλὰ μεγάλη·
καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐκ τὴν γῆν τότες τοὺς ἀνασπάει,
ἀντάμα μὲ τὰ ἄλογα κι ἀλλοῦθεν τοὺς ὑπάει.
Ἔπαυσε τότε ὁ θυμὸς καὶ ἡ ῥοπὴ ἐκείνη,
εἰς ἄλλον τόπον πήγαμε, ὁποὺ 'τονε γαλήνη.
Οἱ ἐντόπιοι μᾶς ὁδηγοῦν κ' ἐπήγαμε μὲ κόπον,
μὲ βία γὰρ ἐσώσαμε στῆς Ἰνδικῆς τὸν τόπον.
Κ' ἦλθασι ὀκ τοὺς Ἰνδικοὺς ὀμπρός μου νὰ σταθοῦσι
κ' εἶπασι· 'Δῶ ηὑρίσκονται δένδρα ὁποὺ λαλοῦσι.'
Ὡσὰν τ' ἀκούσαμε λοιπόν, τότ' ἀπορήσαμ' ὅλοι,
κ' ἐδείξανέ μας τὰ δενδρὰ μέσα εἰς περιβόλι.

2087 ἄλλην corr. || 2093 ἐντόπιοι corr. || 2096 λαλοῦσι: καρποῦσι emendavi

Στὸ περιβόλι κεῖνο γὰρ κ' εἰς τῆς μεριᾶς ἐκείνης
ναὸς μεγάλος ἤτονε ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης.
Ἦσαν μεγάλα δυὸ δενδρὰ κ' ἦσαν τὰ δύο ἴσια,
ἐφαίνετόν σου κ' ἤσανε τὰ δύο κυπαρίσσια·
τὸ ἕνα λέγαν ἥλιον καὶ τ' ἄλλο γὰρ σελήνη,
ὡραῖα ἦσαν σ' ὀφθαλμόν, εἶχαν κι ὀμορφοσύνη.
Κ' εἶπασι οἱ ἐντόπιοι πῶς τὰ δενδρὰ μιλοῦσι,
σὰν ἀνατέλλη ἥλιος, τρεῖς γὰρ φορὲς λαλοῦσι.
Μιλοῦν καὶ ἄλλες τρεῖς φορές, σὰν πὰ νὰ βασιλεύσῃ,
καὶ ὅ,τι λέγουν τὰ δενδρὰ πασάνας νὰ πιστεύσῃ.
Παίρνω δέκα 'κ τοὺς φίλους μου νὰ πὰ νὰ προσκυνήσω,
νὰ σέβω μέσα στὸν ναόν, τὰ δένδρη νὰ γρικήσω.
Δὲν ἄφηκαν οἱ ἱερεῖς νὰ μποῦμ' ἀρματωμένοι,
ἐμπήκαμε ξαρμάτωτοι, ὅλοι συμμαζωμένοι.
Καὶ βασιλεύει ἥλιος, τὰ δένδρη γὰρ λαλοῦσι,
καὶ ἡ φωνή τους ἰνδική, δὲν ξεύρω τί μιλοῦσι.
Ὁ δραγουμάνος πού 'χαμε, αὐτὸς τότ' ἐφοβήθη,
κ' ἐκεῖνο πού 'παν τὰ δενδρὰ οὐδὲ μᾶς τὸ ξηγήθη.
Ἐπῆρα τον εἰς μοναξά, ἐτάξα του καὶ χάρη,
ἐκ τοὺς δικούς μου, εἶπε μου, θάνατον θέλω πάρει.
Ὡσὰν τὸ ἤκουσα ἐγώ, δὲν εἶχα τί νὰ ποίσω,
πάλι ἐμπῆκα στὸν ναὸν τὰ δένδρη γιὰ ν' ἀκούσω.
Ὡσὰν ἐβγῆκε ἥλιος, τὰ δένδρη ἐμιλοῦσαν,
ἑλληνικὴ φωνή 'τονε ἐκείνη ὀπ' ἀρχίσαν
καὶ εἶπασί μου· 'Βασιλεῦ, εἰς τὴν Βαβυλωνίαν
ἐκεῖ θὲς λάβει θάνατον μ' ἀπάτην γὰρ δολίαν·
δὲν θὲς κερδίσει γὰρ ἐσὺ τὴν χώραν τῶν γονιῶν σου,
μηδὲ τὴ μάνα σου λοιπὸν δὲν βλέπεις μ' ὀφθαλμόν σου.'
Ὡσὰν τὸ ἤκουσα ἐγώ, καρδιά μου τότ' ἐτρώθη,
σ' ἐκεῖνο πού 'παν τὰ δενδρὰ κ' εἰς τό 'μελλε νὰ μὄρθη.
Ἐτότες γὰρ οἱ φίλοι μου, Φίλιππος καὶ Παρμένης,
αὐτεῖνοι μὲ παρακαλοῦν, λέγουν μου· 'Δῶ μὴ μένης.'
Ἐγὼ δὲν ἤθελα λοιπὸν ἐκείνους νὰ γρικήσω,
τὸν ὄρθρον ἀκαρτέρουνε τὰ δένδρη γιὰ ν' ἀκούσω.
Καὶ σὰν ἐβγῆκε ἥλιος, τὰ δένδρη ἐμιλῆσαν·
'Οἱ χρόνοι σου πληρώθησαν', εἶπαν καὶ δὲν ἀργῆσαν.
Ὡσὰν τὸ ἤκουσα λοιπόν, δὲν εἶχα τί νὰ ποίσω,

2099 κεῖνο: κεῖνος edd. || 2119 τὸ supplevi metri gratia

εἶπα γιὰ νὰ μισέψωμε, ἐκεῖ νὰ μὴν ἀργήσω.
Ἐπῆρα τὰ φουσάτα μου κ' ἐπῆγα στὴν Περσίδα,
καὶ Σεραμίδος τὰ ψηλὰ παλάτια τότες εἶδα.
Ἥσανε ὅμορφα πολλά, λαμπρὰ στὴ θεωρία,
'ξ ἐκεῖνα γὰρ ἐμόρφιζε ἐκείνη ἡ μερία.»
Ταῦτά 'γραφε Ἀλέξανδρος, 'ς Μακεδονιὰ τὰ στέλλει,
εἰς τὸν διδάσκαλον αὐτοῦ, τὸν μέγ' Ἀριστοτέλη.
Ἦλθαν, ὡς τὸ προείπαμε, 'ς Περσίδα 'ρδινιασμένοι,
καὶ ὅλοι οἱ στρατιῶτες του, ἦταν ἁρματωμένοι.
Ἐκεῖ γὰρ ἐβασίλευε γυναίκα 'ραιωμένη,
Κανδάκης μὲ τὸ ὄνομα, πολλά 'τον ἀκουσμένη.
Εἰς αὔτην ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπιστολὴ τῆς στέλλει,
ἐκ' ἔγραφε Ἀλέξανδρος ἐκεῖνα ὁποὺ θέλει.
«Βασιλεὺς ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος, Κανδάκης τιμημένη,
ὅλη ἡ φαμελία σου ἂς ἓν χαιρετισμένη.
Ἐπῆγα εἰς τὴν Αἴγυπτον κ' εἶπαν μου περιορίζεις,
χρόνους πολλοὺς τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἐσὺ γὰρ τὴν ὁρίζεις.
Γύρισες γὰρ στὸ σπίτι σου ἀπ' ὁρισμὸν Ἀμμῶνος,
αὐτὸς 'ξουσία μὄδωσε ἐγὼ νὰ 'ρίζω μόνος·
λοιπὸν ὁρίζω σε ἐγὼ νά 'λθης 'ς προσκύνησή μου,
νά 'σαι στὴν δουλοσύνη μου κ' εἰς τὴν ὑπακοή μου.
Ἐγρίκησα στὸν τόπον σου εἶναι ὡριωμένα
πράματα εὔμορφα πολλά, καὶ φέρ' ἐδῶ γιὰ μένα.
Καὶ ἃ δὲν θέλης τὸ λοιπόν, ἐγὼ γιὰ νὰ σ' ὁρίσω,
ἤξευρε γὰρ ἀπάνου σου πόλεμον θὲ νὰ ποίσω.»
Τότες σ' αὐτείνη τό 'στειλε αὐτεῖνο τὸ πιτάκι.
Ἐτότες τὸ ἀνάγνωσε αὐτείνη ἡ Κανδάκη
καὶ ἔστειλε σ' Ἀλέξανδρον ἐπιστολὴ ἐκείνη
μὲ τὴ μεγάλη σιωπὴ καὶ μὲ τὴν δουλοσύνη·
«Κανδάκης ἡ βασίλισσα Λεξάνδρῳ τιμημένῳ,
τὸ ὄνομά σου ἓν καλὸ στὸν κόσμον γρικημένο.
Καὶ τὴν γραφή σου λάβαμε, τὸ γράφεις προσκυνοῦμε,
νὰ σ' ἔχωμε αὐθέντη μας θέλομε κι ἀγαποῦμε.
Παρακαλοῦμε τὸ λοιπὸν ὅλοι τὴν αὐθεντιά σου
μηδὲν ἐλθῇς ἀπάνου μας ποσῶς μὲ τὴ στρατιά σου.
Ἡμεῖς τώρα σοῦ τάσσομε πάντα νὰ σὲ τελοῦμε·

Post 2148 (2148a) Ἐπιστολὴ ὁποὺ ἔστειλεν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος Κανδάκης τῆς βασιλίσσης (titulus) || 2151 μου: μον corr. || 2153 Γύρεσε emend. || Post 2164 (2164a) Ἐπιστολὴ ποὺ ἔστειλε Κανδάκης τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου (titulus)

σ' ἐμᾶς ἂν ἔλθης στανικῶς, ὅλοι μας πολεμοῦμε.
Φουσάτα ἔχομε πολλά, εἶναι κυβερνημένα,
ἔχομε δὲ καὶ χρήματα κ' εἶναι συμμαζωμένα·
Κατὸ πίθους ὁλόγομους ἔκαμα νὰ σοῦ στείλω,
νά 'μαι στὴ δουλοσύνη σου καὶ νὰ σὲ κάμω φίλο.
Πεντακόσια ἀγένεια παιδία νὰ σοῦ πέψω,
ψαττάκους γὰρ διακόσιους γιὰ νὰ σὲ κανισκέψω.
Καὶ δέκ' ἁρμάθια πέβω σου τρύπιο μαργαριτάρι,
'κατὸ λίτρες ἀτρύπητο, καὶ ὅσο θὲς λογάρι.
Γλωσσόκομα 'λεφάντινα βδομήντα νά 'χης πάντα,
κι ἀπὸ τοὺς πάρδους πέβω σου ἀπ' αὐτεινοὺς σαράντα.
Ἀνθρωποφάγους πέβω σου ὀκτὼ μετὰ κλουβία,
ἀπὸ τοὺς σκύλους τοὺς χοντρούς, ὁποὺ 'νιαι σὰν ταυρία,
καὶ ἑκατὸν μαχούμενα ταυρία γιὰ τὴν μάχη,
νὰ πολεμοῦνε τὸ λοιπὸν ὅποιον καὶ ἃ λάχη.
Διακόσια 'λεφάντινα δόντια νὰ προβοδήσω,
νὰ σοῦ τὰ στείλω γλήγορα καὶ νὰ μηδὲν ἀργήσω.
Εἰς τοῦ Ἀμμῶνος τὸν ναὸν στεφάνι θὲ νὰ πέψω,
'κατὸν λιτρῶν τὸ βάρος του, νὰ τόνε κανισκέψω,
ὁλόχρυσο νὰ βρίσκεται μὲ τὸ μαργαριτάρι·
ὅποιον θέλεις στεῖλε μου νὰ 'λθῇ νὰ τὸ ἐπάρη.
Καὶ πάλ' ἡ βασιλεία σου, εἴτι κι ἃ μᾶς ὁρίση,
στὴν δουλοσύνη σού 'μαστεν κ' εἰς τὴν δική σου κρίση.»
Σὰν τ' ἄκουσεν Ἀλέξανδρος ἔπεψε νὰ τὸ δώση,
κ' εἰς ἄλλα ἔθνη πήγαινε αὐτὸς νὰ τὰ δουλώση.
Κανδάκης τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἠθέλησε νὰ ποίση,
κρυφὰ ζωγράφον ἔστειλε γιὰ νὰ τὸν ζωγραφίση.
Καὶ ὁ ζωγράφος τὸ λοιπὸν τὸ ἦθος στόρησέ το,
Κανδάκης γὰρ τὸ ἤφερε καὶ κατεφίλησέ το.
Σὲ μέρες περαζόμενες ἐδιάβη ὁ Κανδάλης,
ὁ τῆς Κανδάκης ὁ υἱός, βασίλισσης μεγάλης,
εἰς Ἀμαζόνες μὲ σπουδὴ μὲ πᾶσαν τὴν στρατιά του,
ἔσυρνε τὴν γυναίκα του κι ὅλη τὴν φαμελιά του.
Πηγαίνοντας τὸν ξάφνισαν τῶν Βερβικῶν τὸ ἔθνος
κ' ἐπῆραν τὴν στρατεία του, κ' ἔφυγ' ἐκεῖνος μόνος.
Τότε αὐτεῖνον ἔπιασαν τ' Ἀλέξανδρου στρατιά του,
σὲ Πτολεμαῖον τὸν ὑπᾶν αὐτεῖνον ὀμπροστά του.

2193 πάλι βασιλεία corr.

Ὁ Πτολεμαῖος ἐρωτᾷ πόθεν ἒν ὁ Κανδάλης·
«Κανδάκης εἶμαι ὁ υἱός, βασίλισσης μεγάλης·
καὶ ὡς ἐπήγαινα λοιπὸν ἐγὼ στὲς Ἀμαζόνες,
οἱ Βερβικοὶ μ' ἐπιάσασι μ' ὅλες μου τὲς κατόνες,
ἐπῆραν τὴν γυναίκα μου καὶ ὅλη τὴ στρατιά μου
καὶ πάγω εἰς τὸ σπίτι μου διχῶς τὴν φαμελιά μου
νὰ πῶ τῆς μάνας μου λοιπὸν φουσάτο γιὰ νὰ ποίσω,
νὰ πάγω γὰρ στοὺς Βερβικοὺς ὡς γιὰ νὰ πολεμήσω.
Καὶ τώρα γὰρ μὲ ἔπιασε στρατιὰ ἡ ἐδική σου·
τὸ 'ρίζεις, κάμε εἰς ἐμὲ μὲ ὅλη τὴ βουλή σου.»
Ὁ Πτολεμαῖος διέβηκε, Λεξάντρου τ' ἀναφέρνει,
τὸ ἔνδυμά τ' Ἀλέξανδρος τότες τοῦ τὸ φοραίνει·
«Κάθισε εἰς τὸν θρόνον μου ἐσὺ διατ' ἐμένα,
καὶ τώρα σὺ τὴν βασιλειά, σὰν θέλεις την, κυβέρνα.»
Ὁ Πτολεμαῖος ἔκατσε τόσες εἰς τὸ σκαμνί του
καὶ τότε πάλι γλήγορα κράζει τὸν δουλευτή του.
Εἶπε· «Κράξε μ' Ἀντίγονα φίλον μου νὰ μιλήσω,
εἰς τούτην τὴν ὑπόθεση γιὰ νὰ τὸν ἐρωτήσω.»
Σὰν ἦλθε ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος, ρωτάει τὸν Κανδάλη,
ὁ Πτολεμαῖος εἶπε του νὰ τ' ἀναφέρῃ πάλι.
Καὶ εἶπε τὴν ὑπόθεσιν σ' ἐκεῖνον γὰρ τὸν τόπον·
Ἀλέξανδρος ἐγρίκησε καταλεπτῶς τὸν τρόπον.
Ἐσύντυχε τ' Ἀλέξανδρου ὁ Πτολεμαῖος πάλι·
«Συβούλευσέ μ' Ἀντίγονε, γι' αὐτεῖνον τὸν Κανδάλη.»
Καὶ ἀπεκρίθ' Ἀλέξανδρος κ' εἶπε του· «Γιὰ νὰ ποίσῃς,
ὦ βασιλεῦ Ἀλέξανδρε, πρέπει νὰ τοῦ βοθήσῃς,
νὰ τοῦ γλυτώσῃς τὸ λοιπὸν αὐτείνου τὴ γυνή του,
νὰ πάγῃ γὰρ χαιράμενος 'ς Κανδάκη τὴ μητρί του,
γιατὶ πολλὰ χαρίσματα σὄπεψε ἡ Κανδάκη,
καὶ πρέπει νὰ τὰ θυμηθῇς τώρα εἰς τὴν ἀνάγκη.»
Οἱ στρατιῶται βλέποντα τὸν Πτολεμαῖον 'ς κρίση
εἴπασιν· «Ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος τίβοτες θὲ νὰ ποίσῃ.»
Ἐτότες ἐσηκώθησαν, ἐκεῖθεν ἐμισεῦσαν,
ἀντίπερα στοὺς Βέρβικους ἐπῆγαν κ' ἐπεζεῦσαν.
Καὶ εἶπε ὁ Ἀντίγονος· «Ἐδῶ γιὰ νὰ σταθοῦμε,
τὴν νύκτα γὰρ τοὺς Βερβικοὺς νὰ πὰ νὰ τοὺς εὑροῦμε,
γιατὶ ἂν τὸ μάθ' ὁ τύραννος θέλει τὸ θανατώσει,

2225 ἀντίγονε corr. || 2237 χαρίσμαται edd. || 2240 εἴπασιν: εἶπαν corr.

τὸ γύναιο τοῦ φίλου μας στὴ γῆ τὸ θέλει χώσει.
Μ' ἂς βάλωμε στὰ σπίτια τους ἱστία γὰρ μεγάλη
κ' ἐκεῖνοι φέρει θέλουσι γυναίκα τοῦ Κανδάλη.»
Λοιπὸν τὴν νύκτα πήγασι σ' αὐτοὺς φωτιὰ κ' ἐβάλαν,
κ' ἐφώναξαν οἱ Βέρβικοι τί 'τονε ὁποὺ σφάλαν.
Ἐκέλευσεν Ἀλέξανδρος νὰ κράζῃ ἡ στρατεία·
«Κανδάλης ἒν ὁ βασιλεὺς ποὺ κάνει τὴ φωτία.
Ἢ φέρτε τὴ γυναίκα του ἢ τώρα θὲ νὰ ποίσῃ
τὴν χώρα σας καὶ τὸν λαὸν νὰ κάψῃ, νὰ μπυρίσῃ.»
Ὡς τ' ἄκουσαν, ἐδράμασι τότε μὲ βιὰ μεγάλη,
καὶ τὴ γυναίκα ἤφεραν στὰ χέρια τοῦ Κανδάλη.
Σὰν εἶδε τὴ γυναίκα του περίσσια τὸ ἐχάρη,
νὰ τὴν ἰδ' ἔτσι γλήγορα ποτέ του δὲν τὸ θάρρει.
Ἔδραμε στὸν Ἀντίγονα μετὰ τιμῆς μεγάλης,
στὰ χείλη τὸν ἐφίλησε αὐτεῖνος ὁ Κανδάλης.
Εἶπε νὰ πὰ στὴ μάνα του νὰ κάμῃ νὰ τοῦ ποίσῃ,
χαρίσματα βασιλικὰ ἐκείνου νὰ χαρίσῃ.
Ἀπιλογήθ' Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ εἶπε τοῦ Κανδάλη·
«Ἂν ἔβλεπα τὴ χώρα σου εἶχα χαρὰ μεγάλη.
Μὰ σύρε στὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἐμένα νὰ ζητήσῃς,
νὰ πᾶμε εἰς τὴν χώρα σου, νὰ μὲ φιλοτιμήσῃς.»
Κανδάλης τοῦ Ἀλέξανδρου ἐζήτησέ του χάρη,
ν' ἀφήκῃ τὸν Ἀντίγονα σπίτι του νὰ τὸν πάρῃ.
Ἀλέξανδρος τοῦ Πτολεμιοῦ εἶπε του νὰ τὸν στείλῃ,
οἱ δύο νὰ παγαίνουσι μὲ τὸν Κανδάλη ὡς φίλοι.
Ὁ Πτολεμαῖος εἶπε του· «Πληρώνω τὴ βουλή σου,
ἔπαρε τὸν Ἀντίγονα καὶ σύρε στὴ μητρί σου.
Καὶ πάλι στεῖλε μού τονε καλὰ μὲ τὴ βουλή σου,
ὡσὰν ἐγὼ σοῦ γλύτωσα ἐσένα τὴ γυνή σου.»
Ὁ δὲ Κανδάλης εἶπε του· «Τοῦτον παραλαμβάνω
ὡσὰν ἐσέν, Ἀλέξανδρε, τοῦτο σ' ἀναθιβάνω.»
Στὴ στράτα ὅπου πήγαιναν Ἀλέξανδρος κοιτάζει,
ἐκεῖνα τὰ ψηλὰ βουνὰ περίσσια τὰ θαυμάζει.
Εἴχασι καὶ πολλὰ δενδρὰ καὶ ὄμορφα μυρίζαν,
αὐτεῖνα, λέγω, τὰ δενδρὰ στὰ γνέφη γὰρ ἐγγίζαν.
Καὶ ὥσπερ κίτρα 'σαν χοντρὰ τὰ μῆλα καὶ λεμόνια,

2254 τὴν addidi | κάψῃ C, 1600, κάπν 1529, κάπνο 1552, 1603 || 2274 γλύτωσα edd. || 2281 κύτρά 1529, C, κυτρὰ recentiores

καὶ εἶδε καὶ καρύδια μεγάλα σὰν πεπόνια.
Εἶδε καὶ πίθακους πολλούς, μεγάλους σὰν ἀρνία,
θηριὰ δὲ ξενοχάραγα σ' ἐκεῖνα τὰ βουνία.
Κανδάλης τοῦ 'Αντίγονου εἶπε του πὼς λογοῦνται
τὰ ὧδε οἰκητήρια, οἶκοι θεῶν καλοῦνται.
Εἰς τὰ παλάτια σώσασι στὴ χώρα κ' ὑπαγαίνουν,
ἡ μάνα του κ' οἱ ἀδελφοὶ τόνε συναπανταίνουν.
῎Απλωσαν καὶ τὰ χέρια τους γιὰ νὰ τὸν χαιρετήσουν,
κι αὐτὸς ἀπιλογήθηκε αὐτεῖνον γιὰ ν' ἀφήσουν.
Εἶπε τους· «Τὸν 'Αντίγονα πρῶτα τὸν χαιρετᾶτε,
καὶ χαιρετᾶτε καὶ ἐμὲν κ' ὑστέρου ἐρωτᾶτε.»
'Αντίγονον χαιρέτησαν μικροί τε καὶ μεγάλοι,
κ' ὕστερα χαιρετήσασι αὐτεῖνον τὸν Κανδάλη.
'Ο δὲ Κανδάλης εἶπε της· «Γλυκύτατη μητρί μου,
'Αντίγονος ἦτον ἡ βουλὴ νὰ πάρω τὴ γυνή μου,
διότις ἐσυβούλευσε 'Αλέξανδρον νὰ ποίση
τὴ νύκτα γὰρ τοὺς Βέρβικους νὰ κάψη, νὰ μπυρίση.»
'Εκεῖνοι σὰν τὸ ἤκουσαν, εἶχαν χαρὰ μεγάλη,
ἐπῆραν τὸν 'Αλέξανδρον ὁμοῦ μὲ τὸν Κανδάλη.
'Η δὲ Κανδάκης ὅρισε ἐκεῖνοι γιὰ νὰ ποίσουν,
στὴν τάβλαν νὰ περάσουσι κι ἀλλήλως νὰ καθίσουν.
'Εκάμαν τοῦ 'Αλέξανδρου τότε τιμὴ μεγάλη
καὶ ὅλοι τους χαιρόντησαν πὼς εἶδαν τὸν Κανδάλη.
'Απῆτις ἐξημέρωσε ἐβγῆκε στολισμένη,
Κανδάκης ἡ βασίλισσα, βασιλικὰ ντυμένη.
Φοβερὴ ἦτονε πολλά, βασιλικὸ τὸ βλέμμα,
καὶ ὅσοι κι ἂν τὴν ἤβλεπαν, ὀμπρός της ὅλοι τρέμα.
῎Εδοξε τοῦ 'Αλέξανδρου, βλέπει τὴν ὀμορφάδα,
ἐκείνην τὴ μητέρα του, λαμπρὰ 'Ολυμπιάδα.
'Επῆρε τὸν 'Αλέξανδρον ἐκείνη ἀπὸ τὸ χέρι
κ' ἐτράβα τον μετὰ χαρᾶς στὸ σπίτι νὰ τὸν φέρη.
'Απῆτις ἀποσώσασι εἰς τὸ λαμπρὸ παλάτι,
Κανδάκης τὸν 'Αλέξανδρον 'κ τὸ χέρι τὸν ἐκράτει
καὶ ἔδειξέ του φαντασιά, ἐνά 'μορφο κλινάρι,
ἄλλο δὲν ἦτον εἰς αὐτὸ μόνο μαργαριτάρι·
ὁλόγυρά του ἦτονε πολύτιμο λιθάρι
μὲ στρώματα ὁλόχρυσα κ' εἶχε μεγάλη χάρη.

2314 κανδάλης C, edd. praeter 1603 quae corrigit

Δείχνει του καὶ τραπέζια μὲ τὸ μαργαριτάρι,
ὁλόγυρά τους ἦτονε ἀσήκωτο λογάρι.
Στὲς δύο ἄκρες ἦτονε μετὰ τῶν δρακοντίων
καὶ εἰς τὴ μέση ἦτονε μετὰ τῶν λεφαντείων.
Εἶδε ναοὺς πολυτελεῖς, ὅμορφοι στὰ θεμέλια,
εἶδε καὶ περιβόητα πανώρια περιβόλια.
Εἶδε τα ὁ 'Αλέξανδρος καὶ ὅλα τὰ στοχάστη,
ἀπὲ τὴν τόσην ἐμορφιὰ περίσσια ἐθαυμάστη.
Κανδάλης τὴ μητέρα του πολλὰ ἐπαρακάλει
νὰ δώση τοῦ 'Αντίγονου χάρη πολλὰ μεγάλη.
Κανδάκης τὸν 'Αλέξανδρον παίρνει τον ἐν τῷ ἅμα,
καὶ πράματα τοῦ ἔδειξε ὁπού 'τον μέγα θάμα.
Εἶδε κοιτῶνας εὔμορφους, λιθάρια ὅσα θέλει,
ὡσὰν τὸν ἥλιον ἔλαμπαν, ποὺ φέγγει κι ἀνατέλλει.
Εἶδε καὶ σπίτι, πού 'τονε μὲ τέχνη καμωμένο,
ἀπάνω λέγω σὲ τροχοὺς ἦτον ἀποθεμένο.
Εἴκοσι λέφες τό 'συρναν, ὁπού 'θελε νὰ πάγη,
ἀπάν' ἀφέντης ἔστεκε, χώρια του πολεμάγει.
Εἶπε της ὁ 'Αλέξανδρος· «Καλά 'ναι καμωμένα,
πασάνας τὸ θαυμάζεται, πῶς εἶν' μαστορεμένα.
Μὰ τοῦτα λέγω τά 'καμαν ῞Ελληνες διδασκάλοι,
γιατ' αὖτο εἶναι ὅμορφα κ' ἔχουν καὶ τόσα κάλλη.»
Κανδάκης ἀποκρίθηκε καὶ εἶπε ἐν τῷ ἅμα·
«'Αλήθεια λές, 'Αλέξανδρε, ῞Ελληνες τοῦτα κάμα.»
'Απιλογήθη κ' εἶπε της· «'Αλέξανδρος δὲν εἶμαι,
'Αντίγονον μὲ κράζουσι καὶ δοῦλος του λογοῦμαι.»
'Απιλογήθη κ' εἶπε του· «Τὰ λόγια μὴν τὰ χάνης,
ὦ βασιλεῦ 'Αλέξανδρε, ἐπεὶ ἐσὺ τυχάνεις.»
'Επαίρνει τὸν 'Αλέξανδρον κ' ἐμπαίνει στὸν κοιτῶνα,
ἐγύρισε καὶ τὄδειξε τὴν ἐδική του 'κόνα
καὶ νὰ γνωρίση, ἔλεγε, τὴν ὄψιν τὴ δική του.
'Εκεῖνος ἐκ τὸν φόβον του ἔτρεμε τὸ κορμί του.
«Τί 'τον σ' ἐσέν, 'Αλέξανδρε, τώρα καὶ ἐλαθάστης,
μέσα στὸ σπίτι σέβηκες κ' ἐκ γυναικὸς ἐπιάστης;
Τί 'τον σ' ἐσέν, 'Αλέξανδρε, τόση ἀποκοτία,
ὁπού 'λθες καὶ σ' ἐπιάσασι διχῶς πολέμου αἰτία;
Ποὺ βασιλεῖς τὸ τρέμασι τ' ὄνομα τὸ δικό σου,

2327 ματέρα edd. praeter 1603 || 2350 του[1]: τον edd.

καὶ τώρα ποῦ σὲ ἤφερε τὸ δόλιο ριζικό σου;
Τοῦ φίλου ὁποὺ λέγουσι μιὰ δυὸ κατὰ τὴν ὥρα
καὶ τρίτο πάντα τὄρχεται κ' ἔναι κακή του μέρα.
Μὰ πρέπει σύ, 'Αλέξανδρε, ἐτοῦτο νὰ μετρήσης
μία καὶ δύο καὶ πολλές, ἐτοῦτο νὰ μὴ ποίσης.»
'Αλέξανδρος ἠθέλησε τότες διὰ νὰ ποίση,
νὰ σφάξη τὴν βασίλισσα νὰ μὴν τὸ μολογήση.
'Η δὲ Κανδάκης εἶπε του· «Καλή 'τον ἡ βουλή σου
γιὰ νά 'λθης εἰς τὸ σπίτι μας ἐσὺ μὲ τὸ κορμί σου.
Καὶ μὴ φοβᾶσαι τίποτες, φυλάγω το στὸν νοῦ μου,
ὡσὰν ἐσὺ ποὺ γλύτωσες γυναίκα τοῦ παιδιοῦ μου,
γιατὶ ἂν τὸ μάθη ὁ μικρὸς υἱὸς ὁ ἐδικός μου,
χωρίζει σού την τὴν ζωὴν ἐκ τουτουνοῦ τοῦ κόσμου,
διότις ἡ γυναίκα του, τοῦ Πώρου θυγατέρα,
κλαίγει γιὰ τὸν πατέρα της νύκτα καὶ τὴν ἡμέρα.
Λοιπὸν ἐγώ, 'Αλέξανδρε, θέλω νὰ σὲ φυλάξω,
καὶ τίποτες κακὸ σ' ἐσὲν δὲν θέλω νὰ κοιτάξω.»
Κανδάκης καὶ 'Αλέξανδρος ἔξω κ' οἱ δυὸ ἐβγῆκα
καὶ μέσα του 'Αλέξανδρος εἶχε μεγάλη πρίκα.
Κανδάκης τότε σύντυχε υἱοῦ της τοῦ Κανδάλη
νὰ δώση τοῦ 'Αντίγονου χάρη πολὺ μεγάλη.
Εἶπε τῆς θυγατέρας της 'Αρπίσης νὰ ποιήση,
αὐτεῖνον τὸν 'Αντίγονον καλὰ νὰ κανισκίση·
«Διότις ὁ 'Αλέξανδρος μᾶς ἔκαμε φιλία,
κ' ἐγλύτωσε τὴ νύφη μας 'ξ ἐκεῖνα τὰ σκυλία.»
Υἱός της ὁ μικρότερος τότε γιαμιὰ γρικήθη,
εἰς αὔτην τὴν μητέρα του τότες ἀπιλογήθη·
«'Αλήθεια λές, ἡ μάνα μου, χάρη ἔκαμε μεγάλη
ποὺ τὴ γυναίκα γλύτωσε 'δελφοῦ μου τοῦ Κανδάλη.
Μὰ τοῦτο λέγω, νύφη σου πολλὰ παραπονᾶται
πὄσφαξε τὸν πατέρα της, αὐτὸν πολλὰ λυπᾶται.
Καὶ θέλει τὸν 'Αντίγονον γιὰ νὰ τόνε σκοτώση,
ἐκεῖνον τὸν πατέρα της νὰ τὸν ἐξεκδικήση.»
'Η δὲ Κανδάκης εἶπε του αὐτὸ νὰ μὴν τὸ κάμη,
διότις ὁ 'Αλέξανδρος ἔχει πολλὴ δυνάμη·
«Νὰ σφάξης τὸν 'Αντίγονον, ἐτοῦτο ἂ σ' ἀρέση,
καὶ ἓν καλὰ 'Αλέξανδρος, πές μου, τί θὲς κερδαίσει;»
Κανδάλης ἀπεκρίθηκε κ' εἶπε διὰ νὰ ποίση,
στανιὸ τῆς νύφης κι ἀδελφοῦ ὀπίσω νὰ γυρίση·

«Καὶ νὰ τοῦ κάμω συντροφιὰ καὶ νὰ τὸν συντροφέψω,
καὶ μὲ κανίσκι ὄμορφο σ' 'Αλέξανδρον νὰ πέψω.»
Μαλώνουσι οἱ δυ' ἀδελφοὶ καὶ θέλουσι νὰ ποίσουν
γι' αὐτεῖνον τὸν 'Αντίγονον αὐτοὶ νὰ πολεμήσουν.
Κανδάκης τοῦ 'Αλέξανδρου εἶπε του νὰ βοδώση
ἐκείνους μὲ τὴν γνώση του γιὰ νὰ τοὺς ἡμερώση.
Εἶπε του· «Μὲ τὴν γνώση σου μέρωσε τὰ παιδιά μου,
θωρῶ τους ποὺ μαλώνουσι καὶ λακταρεῖ ⟨ἡ⟩ καρδιά μου.»
Σὰν τ' ἄκουσεν 'Αλέξανδρος, σ' ἐκείνους ὑπαγαίνει
κ' εἰς τὸν μικρότερον υἱὸν ἔτσι τοῦ συντυχαίνει.
Λέγει του· «Εἰς 'Αλέξανδρον ἐσύ 'σαι κακιωμένος
καὶ περισσὰ ὀργίζεσαι κ' εἶσαι ραθυμισμένος.
'Εγώ 'μαι δοῦλος ἐκεινοῦ κ' ἔχει πολλοὺς π' ὀρίζει,
καὶ ἀπὸ μένα τίποτες ἐκεῖνος δὲν τὸ χρήζει.
Γιὰ πέτε τί μοῦ τάσσετε κ' οἱ δυὸ συνηβαστῆτε,
νὰ σᾶς τὸν φέρω ἐδεπὰ γιὰ νὰ ξεκδικηθῆτε.
Καὶ ἂ θελήση καὶ τινὰς ἐμένα νὰ φονέψη,
τὸ αἷμα μου 'Αλέξανδρος αὐτὸς τὸ θὲ γυρέψει.
'Εσεῖς γὰρ ἐγρικήσετε πὄχει καταστημένους
τόσους ἀφέντες βασιλεῖς, κάτου στὴ γῆ βαλμένους.
Μόνον ἐσεῖς ἀφῆτε με ἐμένα νὰ παγαίνω
καὶ μὲ δική μου πιβουλὴ ἐδῶ σᾶς τόνε φέρνω.
Κ' εἰς τὸν ἐχθρόν σας καὶ οἱ δυὸ τότε ξεκδικηθῆτε,
ἐγὼ ποὺ δὲ σᾶς ἔφταισα ἐσεῖς ἐμὲν ἀφῆτε.»
Αὐτεῖνοι σὰν τὸν ἤκουσαν, αὐτεῖνον δὲν γυρεύουν,
ἀφήκασι τὰ μαλωτὰ τότε κ' οἱ δυὸ 'ρηνεύουν.
Κανδάκης τὸν 'Αλέξανδρον κράζει σὲ μοναξία,
πολλὰ γὰρ τὴν ἐχάρηκε ἐκείνου τὴν ἀξία.
Καὶ εἶπε τοῦ 'Αλέξανδρου· «'Αγάπουν νά 'σουν γιός μου,
ἐβλέπομε τὴ γνώση σου, κύριος εἶσαι κόσμου.»
Κανδάκης τοῦτα εἶπε του, βγάνει καὶ τοῦ χαρίζει
στέφανον πολυδάμαντον, ποὺ λάμπει καὶ φωτίζει,
καὶ δίδει του καὶ θώρακα, χλαμύδα χρυσωμένη,
καὶ στρατιῶτες τὄδωσε ὀπίσω νὰ παγαίνη.
Κ' ἐπερπατοῦσαν ὅλοι τους μετὰ χαρᾶς μεγάλης,
στὸν τόπον κεῖνον ἔσωσε ποὺ τοῦ 'πε ὁ Κανδάλης.
Εἶδε εἰδώλων φαντασιὰ καὶ ἀστραπὲς καὶ ἄλλα,

2402 ⟨ἡ⟩ supplevi || 2418 ἔφταισα : εὔτεσε edd.

εἰς αὔτα ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐδείλιασε μεγάλα
ὅμως ἐστάθ' Ἀλέξανδρος νὰ δῆ τί θέλει γένει,
ἀνθρώπους εἶδε καὶ φωτιὰ 'κ τὰ μάτια τους ἐβγαίνει
καὶ ἕνας ἦλθε εἰς αὐτὸν τότε καὶ χαιρετᾶ τον·
«Ξέρεις τὸ ποῖος εἶμ' ἐγώ;» λέγει κι ἀνερωτᾶ τον.
«Ἐγώ 'μαι κεῖνος ὁ παλιός, ὁ Χούσης ὁ κρατάρχης,
ὡσὰν ἐσένα φτύχησα κ' εἶχα ἐκεῖνα τά 'ρχεις.
Ἔχεις ἀθάνατ' ὄνομα, ὁπού σοῦ θέλει μείνει,
γιατὶ ἔκτισες Λεξάνδρεια, τὴν χώρα γὰρ ἐκείνη.»
Ἐρώτησεν Ἀλέξανδρος τὸ πόσον θέλει ζήσει.
Ἀπιλογήθη κ' εἶπε του, κάλλιο νὰ μὴν τ' ἀκούση·
«Καλύτερό 'ναι εἰς ἐσὲν μὴ μάθης τὴ θανή σου,
διότις πάντα βάσανα θέλει ἔχει τὸ κορμί σου.
Τοῦτο τὸ γίνωσκε καλά, πῶς ἔκτισες τὴν πόλη,
π' αὐτείνη τὴν ἐχρειάζετον ἡ οἰκουμένη ὅλη.
Καὶ τοῦτο γνώρισ' ἀπὸ μὲν ὡς γιὰ τὴν τελευτή σου,
ὀλίγη ἔναι καὶ κοντὴ ἐσένα ἡ ζωή σου.
Σ' Ἀλεξανδρεία θὲς θαπτῆ, ὁπὄναι τ' ὄνομά σου,
καὶ πλέο μὴ μὲ ἐρωτᾶς, πήγαινε τὴ δουλειά σου.»
Τὴν στράτα πῆρ' Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ περπατεῖ καὶ πάγει,
καὶ πλέο κεῖνον τὸν Χουσὴ οὐδὲν τὸν ἐρωτάγει.
Καὶ οἱ σατράπαι τό 'μαθαν κι ὅλοι οἱ ἀρχηγοί του,
ὅλοι τους τότε ἦλθασι στὴν συναπάντησή του.
Καὶ τότε πάλ' Ἀλέξανδρος παίρνει τοὺς Μακεδόνες
κ' εἰς τὰ Καυκάκια πήγαινε, σ' ἔθνος στὶς Ἀμαζόνες.
Ἐπιστολὴ Ἀλέξανδρος γράφει καὶ σ' αὖτες στέλλει
καὶ ἔγραψέ τους τὸ λοιπὸν ἐκεῖνα, ὅσα θέλει·
«Βασιλεὺς ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος, γυναῖκες Ἀμαζόνες,
δύναμιν ἐγρικήσετε, πὄχουν οἱ Μακεδόνες.
Ἠκούσατε τὸν Δάρειον, πού πῆρα μὲ μαλέα,
καὶ Πῶρον κεῖνον τὸν φρικτόν, τὸν μέγαν βασιλέα.
Ἄλλους ἑτέρους βασιλεῖς ἐγὼ ἐδούλωσά τους,
νὰ μ' ἔχουσι ἀφέντη τους ἐγὼ γὰρ ἔποισά τους.
Καὶ τέλος νὰ μοῦ δίδουσι, πάντα νὰ μὲ τελοῦνε,
πάντα τὸ τέλος εἰς ἐμὲ αὐτεῖνοι νὰ χρωστοῦνε.
Καὶ ἔρχομαι ἀπάνου σας σὰν φίλος γιὰ νὰ ποίσω,

2437 παλιός: παλμὸς corr. || Post 2458 (2458a) Ἐπιστολὴ ὁπού ἔστειλεν Ἀλέξανδρος εἰς τὲς Ἀμαζόνες (titulus)

σ' ἐσᾶς δὲν θέλω τὸ λοιπὸν πόλεμον γιὰ ν' ἀρχίσω.»
Οἱ Ἀμαζόνες εἴδασι ἐκεῖνα τὰ γραμμένα,
τὰ ἔγραψεν Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ τά 'χε μηνημένα.
Καὶ πάλ' ἐκεῖνες ἔγραψαν ἐπιστολὴ νὰ στείλουν,
σ' αὐτεῖνον τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ νὰ τοῦ παραγγείλουν·
«Ἐξ Ἀμαζόνες τὲς φρικτές, 'ξ ἐμᾶς τὲς ἀντρειωμένες,
π' ὁ κόσμος ὅλος στ' ἄρματα μᾶς ἔχει γρικημένες,
βασιλέως Ἀλέξανδρου ὅλες ἐμεῖς μηνοῦμε,
νὰ μὴν ἐλθῆς στὸν τόπον μας ἐσὲν παρακαλοῦμε.
Ὁ τόπος ἔναι γὰρ κακὸς καὶ θὲς κακοπαθήσει,
κι ὀλπίζομε καὶ ἄπρακτος ὀπίσω θὲς γυρίσει.
Τὸ πῶς εἴμαστεν στ' ἄρματα, ξεύρει μας ⟨ἡ⟩ οἰκουμένη,
ὁπού στρατιώτης κανενεὶς δὲν μᾶς συναπανταίνει.
Σὲ δυὸ ποτάμια στέκομεν κ' ἔχομε τὴν θροφή μας
καὶ δὲν γυρίζει κανενεὶς γιὰ χρόνο τὸ νησί μας·
καὶ τὸ νησὶ ὀλόγυρα γυρίζει τὸ ποτάμι
καὶ κανενεὶς οὐδὲ μπορεῖ τίποτες νὰ μᾶς κάμη.
Διακόσιες χιλιάδες βρίσκονται γυναῖκες ἀνδρειωμένες,
ἄλλες βδομήντα τὸ λοιπὸν κ' εἶναι παραβαλμένες.
Οἱ ἄνδρες, ὁπού ἔχομε, μ' ἐμᾶς δὲν κατοικοῦνε,
μ' ἀντίπερα στὸν ποταμὸν τὰ ζῶα μας τηροῦνε.
Σὲ πάσα χρόνους γὰρ ἑπτὰ σ' ἐμᾶς αὐτοὶ περνοῦνε,
καὶ ὅσες θέλουν ἐξ ἐμᾶς μ' αὐτοὺς παιδιὰ γεννοῦνε·
καὶ ἕνα χρόνον μετὰ μᾶς αὐτεῖνοι κατοικοῦσι,
πάλι περνοῦν τὸν ποταμόν, τὰ ζῶα γὰρ τηροῦσι.
Ἂν ἔλθη πόλεμος σ' ἐμᾶς ἢ δυνατὸ φουσάτο,
περνοῦμ' ἐμεῖς τὸν ποταμὸν κι ἀντιμαχόμεσθά το.
Ἔρχουνται καὶ οἱ ἄνδρες μας καὶ μᾶς ἀκολουθοῦσι,
φυλάσσουν τὰς κατούνας μας καὶ μᾶς ὑπηρετοῦσι.
Καὶ δυνατὲς στὸν πόλεμον εἴμαστεν παρὰ φύση,
ἔθνος οὐδὲν ηὑρίσκεται ἐμᾶς νὰ μᾶς νικήση.
Καὶ ὅποια λαβωθῆ 'ξ ἐμᾶς, λέγομε τοῦτο πάλι,
ἀπὸ τὲς ἄλλες τὸ λοιπὸν ἔχει τιμὴ μεγάλη.
Ὅποια ποθάνη 'ς πόλεμον, ἡμεῖς τὴν ἀνυμνοῦμε,
καὶ ὡς θεὰ περσότερο ὅλες τὴν εὐφημοῦμε.
Καὶ ὅποια πάλε ἐξ ἐμᾶς, ὁπού ν' ἀνδραγαθήση

Post 2472 (2472a) Ἀμαζόνων ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον (titulus); C aliter: Ἐπιστολὴ ποῦ ἔστειλαν οἱ ἀμαζόνες πρὸς ἀλέξανδρον || 2479 ⟨ἡ⟩ supplevi || 2494 κι: καὶ corr.

καὶ εἰς τὸν ἄπιστον λαὸν νὰ κόψῃ, ν' ἀφανίσῃ,
νὰ κάμῃ εἰς τὴ μέση τους ἀνδραγαθὲς μεγάλες,
ἔχει ζωὴ ἐκ τὸ κοινό, πολλὴ τιμὴ 'κ τὲς ἄλλες.
'Εμεῖς γυναῖκες εἴμασθεν καί, ἂ μᾶς πολεμήσῃς,
τ' ὁποῖο δὲν τ' ὀλπίζομε ἐμᾶς γιὰ νὰ νικήσῃς·
γυναῖκες εἴμαστεν ἐμεῖς, δὲν ἒν πολλὰ μεγάλο
γυναῖκες γιὰ νὰ πολεμᾶς, νὰ πάρῃς δίχως ἄλλο.
Κ' ἐμεῖς ἂ σὲ νικήσωμε, ἔναι κατηγοριά σου
καὶ τοῦτο συβουλέψου το μ' ὅλην τὴν συντροφιά σου.
"Αν ἒν καὶ τοῦτ', 'Αλέξανδρε, κ' ἔχεις πολλὴ τὴ γνώση,
ἂ θέλῃς νά 'λθῃς εἰς ἐμᾶς, τὸ θέλεις μετανώσει.
Λέγομε τοῦτο εἰς ἐσέν, ἐμεῖς νὰ σὲ τελοῦμε,
τὸ θέλεις νὰ πληρώνωμε γράψε καὶ προβοδοῦμε.
Καὶ γράψε μας ἀπόκριση 'ς τοῦτα τὰ γεγραμμένα,
διότις τὰ φουσάτα μας στέκουν 'κονομημένα.»
Σὰν τ' ἄκουσεν 'Αλέξανδρος, τότε γιαμιὰ γελάει,
εἶπε νὰ κάμουσι γραφὴ εἰς αὖτες γιὰ νὰ πάῃ·
«Βασιλεὺς ὁ 'Αλέξανδρος, γυναῖκες 'Αμαζόνες,
ἐσεῖς ὁποὺ λογίζεστεν κ' εἶστεν ἀντρειωμένες.
"Ολον τὸν κόσμον κέρδαισα ἐγὼ μὲ τὴ βουλή μου,
ἐσᾶς ἐγὼ νὰ φοβηθῶ ἔναι πολλὴ ⟨ν⟩τροπή μου.
Μ' ἐσᾶς δὲν καταδέχομαι πόλεμον γιὰ ν' ἀρχίσω,
μόνον μὲ λόγον μοναχὰ θέλω νὰ σᾶς φοβίσω.
'Αμαζόνες γὰρ στείλετε γιὰ νά 'λθουν εἰς ἐμένα
χίλιες πεντακόσιες μ' ἄλογα διαλεμένα,
καθὲν χρόνον ν' ἀλλάσσωνται, σὲ τοῦτο νὰ γρικᾶτε,
τότες νὰ ἔρχουνται αὐτοῦ κι ἄλλες νὰ προβοδᾶτε.
Καὶ πράματα ποὺ βρίσκονται σ' αὐτείνη τὴ μερέα,
ἐδῶ ἐξ αὖτα στέλνετε, κι ἃς εἶναι γὰρ ὡραῖα.
Λοιπὸν ἂ δὲν θελήσετε ἐγὼ νὰ σᾶς ὁρίσω,
μὲ τὴ στρατιά μου νά 'λθ' αὐτοῦ, καμιὰ νὰ μὴν ἀφήσω.»
Οἱ 'Αμαζόνες εἶδασι Λέξανδρος τί μηνάει,
γραφὴ τότες ἐκάμασι σ' αὐτὸν γιὰ νὰ ὑπάῃ·
«'Εξ 'Αμαζόνες τὲς φρικτές, ἐμᾶς τὶς ἀνδρειωμένες,
στὸν βασιλὴ 'Αλέξανδρον εἴμαστεν δουλωμένες.
Καὶ δίδομέ σου ἐξουσιά, μᾶλλον παρακαλοῦμε

Post 2520 (2520a) 'Επιστολὴ ὁποὺ ἔστειλεν 'Αλέξανδρος εἰς τὲς 'Αμαζόνες (titulus) || Post 2536 (2536a) 'Επιστολὴ ὁποὺ ἔστειλαν οἱ 'Αμαζόνες πρὸς 'Αλέξανδρον (titulus); aliter C: ἀμαζόνων ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς ἀλέξανδρον

νὰ ἔλθῃς εἰς τὴν χώρα μας, θέλομε κι ἀγαποῦμε.
'Ετάξαμε νὰ δίδωμε, τὸν χρόνον νὰ πληροῦμε,
χρυσάφι κηντηνάρια 'κατὸ νὰ σὲ τελοῦμε.
Καὶ 'Αμαζόνες πέβομε ἀπὸ τὲς διαλεμένες
χίλιες πεντακόσιες κ' εἶναι πολλὰ 'νδρειωμένες.
"Οποια γαμηθῇ ἐξ αὐτὲς τὸν νόμον γιὰ νὰ σφάλῃ,
σὰν ἀσεβὴν τὴν ἔχομε, νά 'χῃ ντροπὴ μεγάλη.
"Οταν ὁ χρόνος πληρωθῇ, λέγομε νὰ στραφοῦσι,
προβόδησέ μας τες ἐδῶ καὶ ἄλλες γιὰ νὰ 'λθοῦσι.
'Ημεῖς γὰρ σοῦ ἐγράψαμε τοῦτο γιὰ νὰ γρικήσῃς,
πειθόμεθα, ἀκούομε κεῖνο ποὺ μᾶς ὁρίσῃς.»
Σὰν τ' ἄκουσεν 'Αλέξανδρος, εἰς αὖτες ὑπαγαίνει,
καὶ ἔγραψε ἐπιστολὴ τῆς μάνας του καὶ στέλνει·
«Βασιλεὺς ὁ 'Αλέξανδρος μητρί μου 'Ολυμπιάδα,
τοὺς συγγενεῖς μας χαιρετῶ μ' ὅλη σου τὴν ὁμάδα.
Στὲς 'Αμαζόνες ξέβηκα μ' ὅλη μου τὴ δυνάμη,
εἰς τὸν Πριάνην ὅρμησα, σ' ἐκεῖνο τὸ ποτάμι.
Καὶ εἶδα τόπον ἄγριον σ' ἐκεῖνα γὰρ τὰ μέρη,
σκότος ἐγίνετον πολὺ μέσα τὸ μεσημέρι.
'Ημέρες ὀγδοήκοντα βρέχει βροχὴ μεγάλη
καὶ τὴ στρατιά μου ηὕρηκε τότες μεγάλη ζάλη.
Τὰ ροῦχα τους ἐπέσασι ἐκ τὴν βροχὴν ἐκείνη,
εἰς αὕτους τότε, λέγω σου, πολὺ κακὸ ἐγίνη.
'Εγίνονταν πολλὲς βροντὲς καὶ ἀστραπὲς μεγάλες,
ὡσὰν ἐκεῖνες, λέγω σου, ποτὲ δὲν ἤκουσ' ἄλλες.
Κάψά 'χαμε ὡς ἔπαψε τότες βροχὴ ἐκείνη,
ὁποὺ κανένας ἐξ ἐμᾶς δὲν ἠμπορεῖ πομείνει.
Τὸν ποταμὸν περάσαμε μετὰ πολλοῦ γὰρ κόπου,
κανίσκι μοῦ ἠφέρασιν οἱ ἄνθρωποι τοῦ τόπου.
Πεντακοσίους ἤφεραν τότε σ' ἐμὲν λεφάδες,
ἀμάξια μετ' ἅρματα ὡς 'ξήντα χιλιάδες.
Τότες ἐκεῖνα λάβαμε μ' ὅλην τὴν ὀρδινία,
ὅρισα κ' ἐγυρίσαμε εἰς τὴν Βαβυλωνία.
'Κατὸ χιλιάδες τὸ λοιπὸν ἐπῆρα διαλεμένους
ἀντάμα, λέγω, μετ' ἐμέ, ὁμορφαρματωμένους.
Καὶ ὅρισα νὰ πάγωμε στὲς στῆλες 'Ηρακλέως,

Post 2552 (2552a) 'Επιστολὴ ὁπὄστειλε 'Αλέξανδρος τῆς μητρός του (titulus) || 2569 τότες ἐμὲν corr.

εἶπα τους κ' ἐκινήσαμε καὶ δὲν ἐγίνη ἀλλέως.
Ἡ μία ἤτονε χρυσή, καὶ ἤτονε στημένη,
ἡ ἄλλη ἤτον ἀργυρὴ καὶ καλογεναμένη.
Πῆχες δέκα τὸ μάκρος τους καὶ τρεῖς ἀκόμη ἦσα,
καὶ δυὸ πῆχες τὸ πλάτος τους, ἦσαν κ' οἱ δύο ἴσα.
Καὶ ὥρισα καὶ εἶπα τους τὴ στήλη νὰ τρυπήσουν,
νὰ δῶ ἂν ἔναι κούφια, καὶ πάλι νὰ σφαλίσουν.
Κ' εἶδα την μὲ τὰ μάτια μου κ' ἤτον καλὰ γεμάτη,
καὶ τότε πάλι ὥρισα ἐγὼ κ' ἐσφάλισά τη.
Καὶ λίτρες πεντακόσιες ἐβάλαμε στὸ φθειάσμα,
ἐτότες πάλι ὥρισα, μισεύομε τὸ ἅμα.
Σ' ἔρημον τόπον πήγαμε, κρεμνοὶ 'τανε μεγάλοι,
ὁπού πιστεύω τὶ ποτὲ νὰ μὴν τοὺς εἶδαν ἄλλοι.
Καὶ τότες πάλι γίνετον σκότος πολὺ μεγάλο,
πού δὲν ἐγνώριζε τινὰς ἕνα ἀπὸ τὸν ἄλλο.
'Ετότες ἐγυρίσαμε, 'πτὰ μέρες περπατοῦμε,
στὸν ποταμὸν Θερίζοντα ὥρισα νὰ σταθοῦμε.
Τὲς 'Αμαζόνες ηὕραμε κεῖνες τὲς ὡριωμένες,
εἴχασιν ἅρματα καλά, πολλά 'ταν ἀνδρειωμένες.
Σίδερο γὰρ καὶ χάλκωμα αὐτεῖνες γὰρ οὐκ ἔχουν,
πολὺ ἀσημοχρύσαφο, βίον πολὺν γὰρ ἔχουν.
Ἦλθαν κ' ἐπροσκυνήσανε αὐτὲς οἱ 'Αμαζόνες,
χίλιες πεντακόσιες μοῦ 'φεραν ἀνδρειωμένες.
Τὲς ἄλλες τὲς ἐπήρασι, πού 'χαν ἀποσταλμένες,
καὶ τέλος μοῦ ἠφέρασι, πού 'σαν παραδομένες.
'Εκεῖνος γὰρ ὁ ποταμὸς εἶχε πολλὰ θηρία.
'Εκεῖθεν τότε μίσευσα ἐγὼ μὲ τὴ στρατεία.
Πολὺν καιρὸν πηγαίναμε ὅλοι συμμαζωμένοι,
στὴν 'Ερυθρὰν τὴν Θάλασσαν ὅλοι μας κοπιασμένοι.
Ὅλοι μας ἀναπαύτημαν ἐκ τὸν περίσσιον κόπον.
'Εκεῖ τότες ηὑρίσκαμεν πολλὰ στενὸν γὰρ τόπον.
Εἰς τὴν δεξία γὰρ μεριὰ ἦτον βουνὶ μεγάλο,
ἀριστερά 'τον θάλασσα, οὐκ ἤβλεπες γὰρ ἄλλο.
Θυσία τότες ἔκαμα ἐγὼ καὶ θυσιάζω,
τὸν Ποσειδῶνα τὸν θεὸν περίσσια τον δοξάζω.
Τότες τὸν ἐθυσίασα ἐγὼ εἰς τὴν μονή του,
ἔσφαξα δέκα ἄλογα μόνον εἰς τὴν τιμή του.

2597 καὶ προσκυνήσαμε corr.

'Εκ τὸν 'Αντλοῦν τὸν ποταμὸν ἐπήγαμε παράνου
καὶ οὔτε γῆν ἐβλέπαμε οὐδ' οὐρανὸν ἀπάνου.
Ἦσανε καὶ κακὰ θηριὰ κ' εἶχαν κακὰ τὰ ἤθη,
ἦσαν καὶ σκυλοκέφαλοι, στόμά 'χαν εἰς τὰ στήθη.
Καὶ ἄλλα ἔθνη ἤτανε, τοὺς λέγουν Τρωγλοδύτας,
καὶ κατοικοῦν στὰ σπήλαια κ' εἶχαν μακρὰς τὰς μύτας.
Σὲ περιγιάλι εἴμεσθεν κ' ἕνα νησὶ τηροῦμε,
εἰς τὸ νησὶ ἐπλεύσαμε ὅλοι μας γιὰ νὰ δοῦμε.
Καὶ μέσα, λέγω, στὸ νησὶ ἦτον 'Ηλίου πόλη,
καὶ δέκα μίλια γύριζε ἡ γῆς τῆς πόλης ὅλη.
Καὶ δεκατέσσαροί 'τανε πύργοι ἐκεῖ κτισμένοι,
εὐτρεπισμένοι ὄμορφα καὶ ὁλοχρυσωμένοι.
Καλλωπισμένοι ἤτανε μετὰ τῶν σμαραγδίων
καὶ πάλ' ἦταν ὁλόγυρα μ' ἔμορφων λιθαρίων.
Εἶδα ναὸν ὁλόχρυσον, Σμάδρον αὐτεῖνον λέγαν,
θυσιὲς πολλὲς τοῦ ἔκαμναν, ζῶα πολλὰ ἐκαῖγαν.
Ἦτον ὁμίχλη περισσή, λέγω, στὸν τόπον κεῖνον,
καὶ ἱερέα εἴχασι μαῦρον ὡς Σαρακῆνον.
Τὸν Ἥλιον ἐθυσίαζα μὲ τὴν ταπεινοσύνη
κ' ἐκεῖθεν ἐμισέψαμε ἐμεῖς μὲ καλοσύνη.
'Εκεῖθεν πού μισέψαμε, τρεῖς μέρες περπατοῦμε,
σκότος ηὑρήκαμε πολὺ κ' εἶπα γιὰ νὰ στραφοῦμε.
Πολλὰ κακοπαθήσαμε, δὲν εἶχα τὸ τί κάμει,
μὲ βιὰ ὅλοι ἐσώσαμε στοῦ Ντούναβη ποτάμι.
'Σ παλάτια Κύρου πήγαμε, πολλά 'ταν ὡριωμένα,
ἦσανε γὰρ ὁλόγυρα κι ἀπάνω χρυσωμένα.
'Εκ' εἶδα σπίτι γὰρ μακρύ, σ' ἐκεῖνα γὰρ τὰ μέρη,
μέσα στὸ σπίτι τὸ μακρὺ φωλεύει περιστέρι.
'Ανθρωπινὰ συντύχαινε, ὅποιος κι ἂν ἤθελ' ἔρθει,
τί ἐπάθαινε τοῦ ἔλεγε καὶ τί τοῦ θέλει ἔρθει.
Καὶ οἱ μεγάλοι βασιλεῖς σ' ἐκεῖνο ἐπηγαῖνα,
τί πάθαναν τοὺς ἔλεγε κι ἀλήθευε καθένα.
Λεκάνη ἤτονε χρυσή, ὄμορφα γεναμένη,
ἑξήντα μέτρα ἔβανε κ' ἦτον ἐκεῖ σταμένη.
Ἔσφαξα δὲ καὶ βόδια, θυσία τότες κάνω,
καὶ τὴ λεκάνη τὴ χρυσὴ γεμίζω ὡς ἀπάνω.

2614 ἐβλάπαμε edd., ἐβλάπταμε C, corr. || 2616 σκηνοκέφαλοι corr. || 2625 σμαγδαρίων corr. || 2631 ἐθυσίαζα : ἐθυσίαζε emendavi

Καὶ ὅλοι τους ἐπίνασι, μικροί τε καὶ μεγάλοι,
κάμνομε καὶ τραπέζια κ' ἦτον χαρὰ μεγάλη.
Ἦταν ἐκεῖ σκαλιὰ ὀκτὼ κι ἀπάνω ἦτον δένδρον,
καὶ ἀετὸς ἐκάθετον σ' ἐκεῖνον γὰρ τὸν κένδρον.
Ὁ ἀετὸς καὶ τὸ δενδρὸν ὅλό 'τονε χρυσάφι,
εἶδα γὰρ πράματα πολλὰ τὰ δὲν μπορῶ σὲ γράφει.
'Ετότες ἐμισεύσαμε μ' ὅλην τὴν ὀρδινία,
ἤλθαμε κ' ἐγυρίσαμε εἰς τὴν Βαβυλωνία.
'Εκεῖ παιδὶ γεννήθηκε κ' εἶχε τοιοῦτο εἶδει·
'κ τὴ μέσ' ἀπάνω ἄνθρωπος καὶ κάτω ἦτον φίδι.
'Εκείνη ποὺ τὸ γέννησε φέρνει το στὸ παλάτι,
ἤφερε κ' ἔδειξέ μου το, στὰ χέρια της τὸ κράτει.
Κρυφὰ μοῦ τό 'φερε ἐκεῖ, εἶδα το γὰρ πῶς κάνει,
εἰς αὖτο, λέγω, θάμασμα ἐμένα μοῦ ἐφάνη.
Ὅρισα δὲ νὰ ἔλθουσι μάγοι καὶ ἀστρονόμοι,
νὰ δῶ 'ς τοῦτο τί λέγουσι, τοῦ καθενὸς τὴν γνώμη.
'Ετότες ἐμαζώκτησαν κ' οἱ μάγοι κάμνουν κρίση,
τ' ἄγρια ἔθνη, μοῦ 'πασι, ἐγὼ τὰ θέλω 'ρίσει.
Εἷς ἀστρονόμος ὕστερα ἦλθε σ' ἐμᾶς κι ἀρχίζει,
καὶ τὸ σημεῖον ἔβλεψε, τὰ ροῦχα του ξεσχίζει.
Βάνει μεγάλη τὴ φωνὴ καὶ κλαίγει καὶ τρομάσσει,
καὶ ἔλεγέ μας βασιλειὰ γλήγορα θὲ χαλάσει.
Κ' ἐγὼ ὡσὰν τὸ ἤκουσα, μεγάλως ἐφοβήθη,
τοῦ ἀστρονόμου τὸ λοιπὸν ἔτσι τ' ἀπιλογήθη.
Καὶ εἶπα του τὸ λοιπονὲ αὐτὸ νὰ καθαρίση
καὶ τὸ σημεῖο τί δηλοῖ πασάνας νὰ γρικήση.
Ὁ μάγος ἀποκρίθηκε· 'Τ' ἀπάνου τοῦ ἀνθρώπου,
ἐκεῖνος, λέγω, εἶσ' ἐσύ, εἰσὲ τοιούτου τρόπου·
τὸ κάτω, λέγω, τοῦ φιδιοῦ ἔναι ἡ ἐξουσά σου,
κ' ἐκεῖνοι ὁποὺ παίρνουσι 'ξ ἐσὲν τὴ ἀφεντιά σου.'
'Εξ ἐμοῦ τοῦ γράψαντος Λεξάνδρου τοῦ υἱοῦ σου,
νὰ σ' εὕρη ἡ γραφὴ καλὰ μὲ ὅλους τοῦ σπιτιοῦ σου.»
Τοῦ 'Αλεξάνδρου θάνατος τοιούτως γὰρ ἐγίνη,
ὀντὰ τὸν ἐφαρμάκεψαν οἱ φίλοι του ἐκεῖνοι.
Ὅταν αὐτὸς ἐξέβηκε ἐκ τὴν Μακεδονία,
φίλον του ἄφηκε ἐκεῖ νὰ 'ρίζη μ' ὀρδινία,
τὸ ὄνομα 'Αντίπατρον, τὴ χώρα νὰ γυρίζη.

Post 2680 (2680a) Περὶ τὸ πῶς ἐσυνέβη τοῦ 'Αλεξάνδρου ὁ θάνατος (titulus)

Ἄφηκε καὶ τὴν μάνα του ἐκείνη γιὰ νὰ 'ρίζη.
'Ολυμπιάδα ἔγραφεν σ' 'Αλέξανδρον καὶ πέβει
τὸ πῶς αὐτὴ 'Αντίπατρον οὐδὲν τὸν ἀφεντεύει.
Καὶ πάλι ὁ 'Αντίπατρος σ' 'Αλέξανδρον ἐμήνει,
τὸ θέλημά της κάμνει το καὶ ὅ,τι θέλει κείνη·
«Αὐτὴ σ' ἐμὲν μανιώνεται καὶ ἔχει κακοσύνη,
μὰ γὼ κάνω στὴ χώρα σου πολλὴν δικαιοσύνη.»
'Αλέξανδρος γὰρ ἄφηκε τὸ πράμα κ' ἐδιέβη,
σ' 'Αντίπατρον δὲν ἔγραψε, μηδὲ 'ς μητέρα πέβει.
'Ολυμπιάδα ἔγραφε, σ' 'Αλέξανδρον ἐμήνει
νὰ βγάλη τὸν 'Αντίπατρον ἐκ τὴν τιμὴν ἐκείνη.
'Αλέξανδρος τῆς ἔγραψε αὐτείνης τότε πάλι,
αὐτεῖνον τὸν 'Αντίπατρον ἐκ τὴν τιμὴ νὰ βγάλη.
Σὰν τ' ἄκουσεν 'Αντίπατρος, ἐγύρευε νὰ ποίση
μέθοδον τὸν 'Αλέξανδρον γιὰ νὰ τὸν φαρμακίση.
Φαρμάκι κάμνει ἰσχυρόν, 'ς πυξόμηλον τὸ βάνει
καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ του τό 'δωκε Κασσάνδρου ν' ἀθιβάνη.
Εἶχε δὲ ὁ 'Αντίπατρος τὸν ἕτερον υἱόν του
δοσμένον τοῦ 'Αλεξάνδρου ὡς ἄνθρωπον δικόν του.
'Αντίπατρος παράγγειλε Κασσάνδρου τοῦ υἱοῦ του
νὰ δώση τὸ φαρμάκιον 'Ιούλη τ' ἀδελφοῦ του.
Τότες ἀποχαιρέτησε Κασσάνδρος καὶ μισεύει,
στὰ μέρη τῆς Βαβυλωνιᾶς ἐκεῖθεν γὰρ ὁδεύει.
'Εκ' ηὕρηκε τ' ἀδέλφι του, 'Ιούλιον τὸν λέσι,
γι' 'Αλέξανδρον τοῦ μίλησε γιὰ νὰ τὸν ἀπολέση.
Τότες Κασσάνδρος ἔβγαλε, δείχνει του τὸ φαρμάκι,
σὰν εἴχασι τὴν ὀρδινιά, δίνει του καὶ πιτάκι.
Ἤτονε ὁ 'Ιούλιος ἐξ αὖτον λυπημένος,
'κ τὰ χέρια τοῦ 'Αλέξανδρου ἦτονε ραβδισμένος,
διότι τοῦ ἐκτύπησε ἀπάνω στὸ κεφάλι,
μὲ τὸ ραβδὶ τοῦ βάρεσε μία ραβδιὰ μεγάλη.
Ἦτον κι ἄλλος λυπούμενος, Μήδην γὰρ τὸν ἐκράζαν,
ἐβουλευτῆκαν καὶ οἱ δυὸ τότες κ' ἐλογαριάζαν.
Ἦσαν καὶ ἄλλοι στὴν βουλὴ κ' ἠθέλησαν νὰ ποίσουν,
ἐτότες τὸν 'Αλέξανδρον γιὰ νὰ τὸν φαρμακίσουν.
Αὐτεῖνα ἂς τ' ἀφήσωμε, ὡς γιὰ νὰ μὴν ἀργήσω,
καὶ διὰ τὸν 'Αλέξανδρον θέλω γιὰ ν' ἀρχινήσω.

2717 τὸν νεκράζαν edd. || 2720 ἐτότες: τότε emend. metri gratia

'Αλέξανδρος καλεστικὴ ἐτότες ὀρδινιάζει,
τοὺς ἄρχοντες ἐκάλεσε, τότες ἐκεῖ τοὺς κράζει,
τοὺς πρώτους τῶν στρατιωτῶν κι ὅλους τοὺς ἀνδρειωμένους,
καὶ τοὺς σατράπας τοὺς καλοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἐκλελεγμένους.
Ὅλοι τους τότε χαίρονταν σ' ἐκεῖνο τὸ τραπέζι,
πασάνας ἀπὸ τὴν χαρὰν ἀρχίνησε νὰ παίζη.
Καὶ τότε πάλι 'Αλέξανδρος ἐσέβη στὸ κελί του
κ' ἔπεσε στὸ κρεβάτι του νὰ πάρη τὴ βουλή του.
Εἶχε δὲ εἰς 'Αλέξανδρον Μήδιος παρρησία,
ἐδιέβη καὶ τὸν ἔκραξε νά 'λθη στὴν κουρτεσία.
Καὶ εἶπε του· «Ὦ δέσποτα, θέλουν γιὰ νὰ σὲ δοῦνε
οἱ φίλοι σου οἱ γνήσιοι μ' ἐσένα νὰ χαροῦνε.»
Σὰν τ' ἄκουσεν 'Αλέξανδρος, ἔξω γιαμιὰ ἐβγαίνει,
τὸ θέλημά τους ἔκαμε εἰς αὔτους καὶ παγαίνει.
'Εκ' ηὕρηκε τὸν Πέρδικα εἰς τὸ τραπέζι κεῖνο,
τὸν Ποθανά, τὸν Λεονάν, ὅλοι ἐπίναν οἶνο·
τὸν Σπευστική, τὸν Λεονάν, Λυσίμαχον καὶ ἄλλοι,
τὸν Φίλιππον καὶ 'Ολκιά, κ' εἶχαν χαρὰ μεγάλη.
Κορβόμη καὶ τὸν Εὐγενή, Νέαγρον κ' 'Ερακλείδη,
εἶχαν καὶ τὸν 'Αριστονά, ἄρχισαν καὶ τραγούδι.
Εἴχανε κ' εἰς τὴν μέση τους τότε τὸν Πτολεμαῖον,
Κασσάνδρον μὲ τὸ ὄνομα καὶ Φιλονὰ τὸν νέον.
Μόνον οἱ πέντε ἐξ αὐτοὺς δὲν ἦσαν αἰτιασμένοι,
σ' ἐκεῖνον τὸ συβούλιον δὲν ἤσανε βαλμένοι.
Πέρδιξ οὐκ ἦτον στὴν βουλήν, οὐδὲ ὁ Πτολεμαῖος,
οὐδ' Ὅλβιος, Λυσίμαχος, οὐ Φιλονὰς ὁ νέος.
Ἄλλοι οἱ ἀποδέλοιποι εἶχαν βουλὴ σταμένη
γιὰ νὰ τὸν φαρμακίσουσι, γιὰ φθόνον γοὶ ὀργισμένοι.
Ἔκαμαν ὅρκους φοβεροὺς νὰ μὴν ἀλληλογήσουν,
ἐκεῖνο, ὁποὺ εἴπασι, ὅλοι τους νὰ τὸ ποίσουν.
Τώρα οὖν ἂς γυρίσωμε εἰς τὴν ἐπιβουλία,
ποὺ θέλησαν νὰ κάμουσι, κείνη τὴν ἀσωτία.
Ὅλοι τους ἦσαν σὲ βουλή, τ' ὁποῖον καὶ τὸ ποῖκαν,
καὶ τόμου ἦλθ' 'Αλέξανδρος, ὅλοι προσηκωθῆκαν.
Εἶχε δὲ ὁ 'Ιούλιος φαρμάκι στὸ ποτήρι,
κ' ἐκέρασε τ' 'Αλέξανδρου κι ἀπέκει ἐσυντήρει.
Ὡσὰν αὐτὸς τὸ ἔπιε, ὥρα διάβη μεγάλη,

2732 τὸν νέκραξε edd. || 2748 Λυσίμαχος: ὁ σύμαχος corr.

ὀλόγυρα ἐγύριζε κ' ἐπίνασι καὶ ἄλλοι.
'Εφώναξε· «Ὦ φίλοι μου, τί ἔναι ποὺ μὲ πειράζει,
ὁποὺ 'λθε στὸ συκώτι μου, σαγίτα καὶ μὲ σφάζει;»
Καὶ πλέο δὲν ἠμπόρεσε αὐτὸς γιὰ ν' ἀπομείνη
κ' εἶπε τους γιὰ νὰ κάθωνται στὴν εὐθυμίαν κείνη.
'Εκεῖνος ἐσηκώθηκε καὶ στὸ κελί του μπαίνει,
μὴ νὰ τὸν πάψη ὁ καημός, ὁποὺ τόνε μαραίνει.
Πτερὸ ζητᾶ 'Αλέξανδρος στὸ στόμα νὰ τὸ βάλη,
μὴ νὰ ξεράση, ἔλεγε, ὀκ τὴν χολὴν νὰ βγάλη.
Καὶ τὸ πτερὸ 'Ιούλιος φαρμάκι 'λείφει πάλι,
τ' 'Αλέξανδρου τὸ ἔδωσε στὸ στόμα νὰ τὸ βάλη.
Καὶ τὸ πτερὸ 'Αλέξανδρος στὸ στόμα του τ' ἀμπώνει,
τότες πάλι χειρότερα ἐπιάσαν τον οἱ πόνοι.
Τὴν νύκτα ὅλην ἄυπνος διαβάζει ὁ καημένος,
δὲν τό 'ξευρε ὁ ταπεινὸς ὅτ' ἔν φαρμακωμένος.
Τὴν νύκτα ὅλους ἔβγαλε μέσα ἐκ τὸ κελί του,
μέσα τινὰν δὲν ἄφηκε, βγάνει καὶ τὴ γυνή του.
Καὶ τότες ἐσηκώθηκε κρυφὰ διὰ νὰ ποίση,
γιὰ νὰ πνιγῇ στὸν ποταμὸν καὶ κάτω νὰ βουλήση,
διότις ἐκεῖ ἔρχετον Εὐφράτης τὸ ποτάμι,
εἰς Βαβυλῶνα ἔρχετον μὲ τὴν πολλὴν δυνάμη.
Εἶδε τον ἡ γυναίκα του, τρέχει καὶ τόνε πιάνει,
ἐπαίρνει τον 'κ τὸν ποταμόν, στὸ σπίτι τόνε βάνει.
Εἶπε της· «Ὦ γυναίκα μου, κακὸ 'καμες μεγάλο,
ἂν εἶχα πάγει ἄφαντος, θεὸν μὲ εἶχαν ἄλλο.»
Καὶ εἶπε της· «Πρὸς τὸ παρὸν μηδὲν τ' ὁμολογήσης,
εἰσὲ κανέναν ἄνθρωπον ποτὲ μὴν τὸ μιλήσης.»
'Αποταχὺ 'Αλέξανδρος 'ρίζει τὸ στρατορίκι,
ὅλοι νὰ ἔλθουν ἔμπροστὰ νὰ κάμη διαθήκη.
Καὶ τότες ἐμαζώκτηκε ὅλο του τὸ φουσάτο,
ἐκάμναν ἀνακάτωμα τότες ἀπάνω κάτω.
Καὶ εἴπασι τοῦ φύλακα, πὀφύλαγε τὸ δῶμα·
«Δεῖξε μας τὸν ἀφέντη μας, τεδὲ νὰ κάμωμ' αἷμα.»
Κ' ἐσέβη μέσα Πέρδικας τ' 'Αλέξανδρου καὶ λέγει·
«Δέσποτα, μακεδονικὸ ἔξω φουσάτο κλαίγει
καὶ ὅλοι θέλουν νὰ σὲ δοῦν, ὁποὺ 'ναι πονεμένοι,

2764 εὐθυμίαν: ἐφημίαν corr. || 2766 τοννεμαρένη edd. || 2782 τὸν νεβάνη edd. || 2784 μεῖχαν edd. | ἄλλον corr.

ταδὲ βάνουνται στ' ἅρματα, κανεὶς δὲν ἀπομένει.»
Τότ' ὥρισεν 'Αλέξανδρος τὴν κλίνην νὰ βαστάξουν,
στὴ μέση νὰ τὸν βάλουσι, ὅλοι νὰ τὸν κοιτάξουν.
Καὶ ἦλθε τὸ φουσάτο του, ὅλο μὲν τὸν κοιτάζει,
πασάνας ἐκ τὸν πόνον του ἀρχίζει καὶ φωνάζει.
Εἰς θάνατον τὸν ἔβλεπαν καὶ ὅλοι ἐφωνάζαν,
ἔκλαιγαν καὶ ὀδύρονταν καὶ βαρυναστενάζαν.
Καὶ ἕνας λέγει ἐξ αὐτούς, πολλά' τονε θλιμμένος,
ἦτον 'διώτης εἰς τὸν νοῦν κ' ἔκλαιγεν ὁ καημένος.
Σ' 'Αλέξανδρον ἐσίμωσε κ' ἐδιάβη εἰς τὴν κλίνην,
ἔκλαιε καὶ ὀδύρετο τὴν ἐδική τ' ὀδύνην.
'Εφώναξε· «Ὦ βασιλεῦ, σ' ἐμᾶς τ' ἔναι πού κάνεις;
'Αφήνεις μας γὰρ ἔρημους καὶ θέλεις ν' ἀποθάνης.
Γιὰ τοῦτο μᾶς ἐξέβαλες ἐκ τὴν Μακεδονία,
νὰ μᾶς ἀφήσης ὀρφανοὺς εἰς τὴν Βαβυλωνία;
Κρεῖττον ἡμεῖς συζώντανοι στὴν γῆν νὰ κατεβοῦμε
παρ' εἰς ἐσέν, 'Αλέξανδρε, τὸν θάνατον νὰ δοῦμε.»
Πάλι τὸ μακεδονικὸ φουσάτο τότε λέγει,
βάνει μεγάλη τὴ φωνή, ἀρχίζει γιὰ νὰ κλαίγη.
Κ' ἐδάκρυσε κι 'Αλέξανδρος κ' εἶπε τους γιὰ νὰ ποίσουν,
παρακαλεῖ τους θλιβερὰ γιὰ νὰ παραμερίσουν.
Ὅρισε πάλι 'Αλέξανδρος γραμματικὸν καὶ κράζουν,
καὶ διαθήκην ἔκαμε, στὴν μέση τὴν διαβάζουν·
«Βασιλεὺς ὁ 'Αλέξανδρος καὶ κοσμοκράτωρ μόνος,
'Ολυμπιάδας ὁ υἱὸς καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ 'Αμμῶνος.
'Επεὶ βλέπω ὁ θάνατος θέλει νὰ μὲ χωρίση,
πού πασαένας ἐξ αὐτὸν δὲν ἠμπορεῖ νὰ γλύση,
πρῶτον ἀφήνω τὸ λοιπὸν σ' ὅλην τὴν οἰκουμένη,
ἀγάπην καὶ συχώρησιν κι ἂς εἶν συμπαθημένοι·
καὶ διὰ νὰ μὴν γίνεται στοὺς ἀρχηγούς μου μάχη,
πασάνας ἐκ τὸν τόπον μου τὸ μερτικό του νά 'χη.
'Αφήνω στὴν πατρίδα μου, εἰς τὴν Μακεδονία,
'Ιδαῖος νά 'ναι ἀρχηγός, νὰ 'ρίζη μ' ὀρδινία.
Ἂν κάμη ἡ γυναίκα μου, ὁπὄναι γγαστρωμένη,
παιδί, νὰ ἔχη θέλημα καὶ βασιλεὺς νὰ γένη.
Ἂν ἔν καὶ γένη θηλυκὸ ἐκεῖνο τὸ παιδάρι,
ἂς κάμουσι Μακεδονοὶ ἄνδρα διὰ νὰ πάρη.

Post 2818 (2818a) 'Η διαθήκη ὁποὺ ἔκαμε ὁ βασιλεὺς 'Αλέξανδρος (titulus)

Καὶ ἂς τὸ βάλουν στὸ σκαμνί, ἐκεῖνος νὰ καθίση,
αὐτεῖνος τὴν Μακεδονιὰ ὡσὰν ἐμὲ νὰ 'ρίση,
ἀπὸ τὸν τόπον π' ὥρισα αὐτεῖνος νὰ μετέχη·
Λεονὰ νὰ τὸ βάλετε, τὸ ὄνομα νὰ ἔχη,
ἂς πάρη καὶ γυναίκα του αὐτὴν τὴν Λεονίκην,
τοῦ Νιγιάδου ἀδελφήν, νὰ ἔχη πάντα νίκην.
'Αφήνω γὰρ τοῦ Εὐγενῆ, πού 'χα γραμματικό μου,
νά 'ναι αὐθέντης καὶ αὐτὸς μὲ θέλημα δικό μου.
Καὶ νὰ ὁρίζη τὸ λοιπὸν αὐτὴν τὴν Παμφαΐα
μ' ὅλα της τὰ περίγυρα καὶ τὴν Καππαδοκία.
'Αφήνω τοῦ 'Αντίγονου ὅλην τὴν Παφυλία
καὶ τὴν Φραγκία, σὰν ὑπά, ὅλην τὴν 'Ιταλία.
Καὶ τοῦ Κασσάνδρ' ἀφήνω του νὰ ἔχη βημερία,
νά 'ναι αὐθέντης καὶ αὐτὸς σ' ὅλην τὴν Καστορία.
Τὴν χώρα ὁπού βρίσκεται ἀνάντια στὸ ποτάμι
ἀφήνω τὸν 'Αντίπατρον σ' ἐκείνηνε νὰ κάμη.
'Αφήνω γὰρ τὴν 'Ελυκιά, ἐκεῖθεν σὰν γυρίζει,
ὁ Φιλονὰς μὲ τ' ὄνομα, αὐτὸς νὰ τὴν ὁρίζη.
'Αφήνω γὰρ τοῦ Πύθωνα νὰ 'ρίζη τὴν Συρία
μ' ὅλα της τὰ περίγυρα καὶ Μεσοποταμία.
'Αφήνω γὰρ τὸν Σέλευκον, πὄχει πολλὴν ἀγνεία,
νά 'ναι ἀφέντης κύριος εἰς τὴν Βαβυλωνία.
'Αφήνω τοῦ Φηνίνιου νὰ 'ρίζη στὴν Συρία,
νά 'χη καὶ τὴν Κοίλη Συριὰ μὲ τὴν εὐημερία.
Αἴγυπτον, 'Αλεξάνδρεια τὸν Πτολεμαῖον 'φήνω,
νά 'ναι αὐθέντης καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ τοῦ τὲς παριδίνω.
'Απάνω 'κ τὴν Βαβυλωνιὰ χώρα τὴ βοδωμένη,
σ' αὐτὴν νὰ 'ρίζη Πέρδικας, ἀφέντης γιὰ νὰ γένη,
ἕως κάτω στὰ Βάκτηρα νὰ 'ρίζη μὲ βουλή του·
ἂς πάρη καὶ γυναίκα μου Ρωξάνην γιὰ γυνή του,
γιατὶ πολλὰ ἐκόπιασε Πέρδικας γιατ' ἐμένα
καὶ πάντα στὴν ἀνάγκη μου αὐτεῖνος μ' ἐκυβέρνα.
'Αφήνω ἀφέντες τέσσαρους, αὐτοὺς νὰ τοὺς τιμήσουν,
καὶ ὅ,τι θέλουν τὸ λοιπόν, αὐτεῖνοι ἂς τὸ ποίσουν.
Δημήτριος καὶ Σέλευχος νά 'ναι μ' ἐμπιστοσύνη,
ὁ Φίλιππος, ὁ Πτολεμιὸς ἂς κάμνουν δικιοσύνη.
'Ορίζω γιὰ νὰ κάμετε λεκάνη χρυσωμένη

2836 λέον νὰ τὸ βάλεται emend. || 2856 εὐσημερία corr.

διακόσια κηντηνάρια κι ἂς ἔναι γεναμένη·
ὅταν θελήση ἡ ψυχὴ νὰ βγῆ ἐκ τὸ κορμάκι
μέσα γιὰ νὰ μὲ θάψετε εἰς τὸ χρυσὸ λαρνάκι.
'Κ τοὺς Μακεδόνας βρίσκονται γέροι ἀχαμνισμένοι,
πασάνας εἰς τὸ σπίτι του μὲ χρῆμα νὰ παγαίνη.
Νὰ τοὺς εὐχαριστήσετε νὰ μὴν παραπονοῦνται,
νὰ πᾶσι εἰς τὰ σπίτια τους, πάντα νὰ μὲ θυμοῦνται.
Εἰς τὰς 'Αθήνας στείλετε χαρίσματα 'ριωμένα,
στείλετε καὶ βασιλικὰ ροῦχα κι ἂς εἶν βαμμένα.
Καὶ εἰς τὸ Ἄργος στείλετε νὰ πᾶσι τ' ἅρματά μου,
'ς κεῖνον τὸν τόπον ἀγαπῶ νὰ πᾶν μὲ θέλημά μου.
Καὶ μέσα νὰ τὰ βάλετε 'ς ναὸν τοῦ 'Ηρακλέως,
καὶ νὰ μηδὲν θελήσετε νὰ κάμετε ἀλλέως.
Καὶ στάμενα νὰ στείλετε πενήντα κηντηνάρια,
ἀκόμα, λέγω, κ' ἑκατὸ νὰ πᾶν ἐκεῖ καθάρια.
Εἰς τὸν ναὸν 'Απόλλωνος, πὄνι ἀδελφοσύνη,
δόντια νὰ πᾶν λεφάντινα νά 'χουν ὁμορφοσύνη.
Πέψετε κοῦπες ἑκατό, λέγω σας μ' ὁρισμόν μου,
στείλετε καὶ δερμάτια νά 'ναι 'ς μνημόσυνόν μου.
Καὶ εἰς τὸ κάστρο Μελητί, ποὺ λέγουν μελανώδη,
ἂς ἀποστείλουν ἐδεκεῖ φλουρία ἕνα μόδι.
Ὅσα νησία βρίσκονται νά 'χουν καθαροσύνη,
αὐτὰ ποὺ 'ρίζει τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς Ρόδου τὸ κουμούνι.
Καὶ τὴν Νηδίαν, ὁποὺ ἔν στὸ Νήδον στὸ ποτάμι,
ἀφήνω την τοῦ Πυθωνᾶ νά 'χη σ' αὐτὴν νὰ κάμη.
'Αφήνω ἀφέντη, λέγω σας, αὐτεῖνον τὸν Ταξίδη,
'ς Παρανησάδας τὸ λοιπὸν νὰ παίρνη καὶ νὰ δίδη.
'Αφήνω τοῦ Σερβέντιου σ' αὐτὴν τὴν Ραχωσία
μ' ὅλα της τὰ περίγυρα κι αὐτὴν τὴν Γερασία.
Εἰς δὲ τὴν χώραν τὴν καλὴν ὁποὺ τὴν λὲν Συρίνη,
ἀφήνω την τοῦ Φίλιππου νὰ 'ρίζη μὲ εἰρήνη.
'Αφήνω ἀφέντη Κυρχανιὰ αὐτὸν τὸν Πανταφέρνη
νά 'ναι ἀφέντης εἰς αὐτούς, ὅλους νὰ τοὺς εὐφραίνη.
'Αφήνω γὰρ τὸν Πέκιστα ἀφέντη στὴν Περσία
ὁλόγυρα, ὡσὰν ὑπά, μ' ὅλη της τὴν μπασία.
Καὶ τοῦτο παραγγέλλω σας, στὴν χώραν τὴ Σουσάνη
Κοῦρον ἀφήνω ἀρχηγὸν νά 'χη σ' αὐτὴ νὰ κάνη.»

2874 εἰς τὸ σπίτι του: ἐκ τὸ σπίτι μου emend. || 2880 'ς κεῖνον: σεκείνον corr.

Καὶ τόμου τὴν ἀνάγνωσαν κείνη τὴν διαθήκη,
τότ' ἔκλαψαν οἱ ἄρχοντες, ὅλο τὸ στρατορίκι.
Καὶ τότε πάλι εἴδασιν ἄστρο ποὺ κατεβαίνει,
'κ τὸν οὐρανὸν ἐπρόβαλε, στὴν θάλασσα παγαίνει.
Καὶ ἀετὸς ἀκολουθᾶ ἐκεῖνο τὸ ἀστέρι,
κ' ἐπερπατοῦσαν καὶ τὰ δυὸ στῆς θάλασσας τὰ μέρη.
Τόμου ἐδιάβη ὁ ἀστὴρ ἀπάνω στὴ μονή του,
τότε καὶ τοῦ 'Αλέξανδρου ἐβγῆκεν ἡ ψυχή του.
'Εκεῖνος ὁπὸδούλευε τ' ἄλογο τὸ μεγάλο
μέσα στὸν στάβλον σέβηκε, λέγει του δίχως ἄλλο.
Εἶπε του· «Ὦ Βουκέφαλε, ἐσ' ἔχεις τὴ ζωή σου,
μ' ἀπόθανεν ἀφέντης σου, ὁποὺ 'τον ἡ τιμή σου.»
Τότε πολλὰ χλιμίτηξε, βρουχᾶται ὥσπερ λέω,
μέσα στὸν στάβλον πλάνταξε ἔτσι, ὡσὰν σᾶς λέω.
Καὶ ὅλοι ἐθαυμάσασι στὸ ζὸ τὸ φιλημένο,
γι' ἀγάπη τοῦ ἀφέντη του ποὺ βρέθη πλαντασμένο.
Πάντα μὲ τὸν ἀφέντη του σὰν ἔβγαινε στὴν μάχη,
τοὺς βάρβαρους ἐσύντριβε, ὅσοι τοῦ θέλαν λάχει.
Τοὺς μὲν ἐκτύπα στοῖς ποσί, τοὺς δὲ στὸ στῆθος πάλι,
μ' ἐκεῖνο γίνη νικητὴς κ' ἐτρέμαν τον οἱ ἄλλοι.
Ταφιασται μυρίσαντες Λεξάνδρου τὸ κορμάκι
καὶ μέσα τὸ ἐβάλασι εἰς τὸ χρυσὸ λαρνάκι.
Οἱ Μακεδόνες ἤθελαν νὰ πάρουν τὸ κορμί του,
ἀντάμα νὰ τὸν βάλουσι 'ς Φίλιππον τὸν πατήρ του.
Οἱ Πέρσες πάλι λέγασι ἐκεῖ γιὰ νὰ τὸν θάψουν,
ὁποὺ 'ν καὶ ἄλλοι βασιλεῖς γιὰ νὰ τὸν ἀναπάψουν.
'Ετότες ἐμαλώνασι τὸ ποιὸς νὰ τὸν ἐπάρη,
νὰ τό 'χουν εἰς τὸν τόπον τους διὰ μεγάλη χάρη.
Καὶ ἦλθε ὁρισμὸς σ' αὐτοὺς παρὰ θεοῦ ἡδέως,
γιὰ νὰ θαπτῆ στὴν Αἴγυπτον, νὰ μὴ γενῆ ἀλλέως.
'Ο Πτολεμιὸς μὲ ἕτερους παίρνει τον καὶ παγαίνει
'Αλέξανδρον εἰς Αἴγυπτον, σὰν εἶν παραγγελμένοι.
'Ο ἱερεὺς δὲν ἄφηκε γιὰ νὰ τὸν ἀναπάψουν
'Αλέξανδρον εἰς Αἴγυπτον, ὡς γιὰ νὰ τόνε θάψουν.
Σ' 'Αλεξανδρειὰ τὸν παίρνουσι καὶ βάνουν τον στ' ἁμάξι,

2915 ὁποδούλαβε corr. || 2918 ἀφέντησου || Post 2926 (2926a) Περὶ τὸ πῶς ἐμύρισαν τοῦ 'Αλεξάνδρου τὸ σῶμα (titulus)

ἐκεῖ γὰρ τὸν ἐθάψασι ὡσὰν τὸ θέλ' ἡ τάξη.
Ἔζησε δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος χρόνους τριάντα τρίους,
τὸν θάνατον γὰρ ἔλαβε αὐτὸς ἐκ τοὺς ἰδίους.

(ΕΠΙΛΟΓΟΣ)

Ἐτοῦτο τὸ βιβλόπουλον στὴ Βενετιὰ τυπώθη.
Ἐκεῖνος ποὺ τὸ τύπωσε μεγάλα γὰρ ἐπόθει
νά 'βρη τὰ κατορθώματα καὶ πράξεις τ' Ἀλεξάνδρου
καὶ πῶς ἐθανατώθηκε 'κ τὰ χέρια τοῦ Κασσάνδρου·
νὰ εὔρη κι ἀθιβόλαιον νά 'ναι διορθωμένο
εἰσὲ σκοπὸν καὶ ἔννοια καὶ ὀρθογεγραμμένο.
Λοιπό 'λαχε καὶ ηὗρε το κ' εἶχε τὸ ἐναντίο
ἀπ' ὅλα ὅσα εἴπαμε, καὶ νὰ εἰπῶ τὸ ποῖο·
σφαλτὸ καὶ ἀδιόρθωτο καὶ κακογεγραμμένο,
κι ἀπὸ τὴν παλαιότητα ἦτον διεφθαρμένο.
Ἐκεῖνος ὁπού τό 'βαλε εἰς στίχον καὶ εἰς ρίμα
ηὑρίσκεται στὴν Ζάκυνθον κ' ἔκαμε μέγα κρίμα
ποὺ δὲ μᾶς εὐεργέτησε τὸ ἐδικό του γράμμα·
τὸ νὰ τὸ μάθη ὄλπιζα, στέλνει το ἐν τῷ ἅμα,
ἐπεὶ ἐγὼ τοῦ μήνησα κ' ἐπαρακάλεσά τον
γιὰ νὰ τὸ στείλη τὸ λοιπὸν ἐγὼ δεήθηκά τον·
πλευσίματά 'ρχονται πολλὰ ἐδῶ στὴν Βενετία,
τὸ πῶς οὐδὲν τὸ ἔστειλε οὐκ οἶδα τὴν αἰτία.
Ἡμεῖς, τὸ ἠμπορέσαμε, ἐκάμαμε μὲ κόπον,
κι ἂν ἒν σφαλμένο τίποτες εἰσὲ κανέναν τόπον,
σὲ ρίμα ἢ εἰς ἔννοιαν ἢ εἰς κανέναν τρόπον,
τὸ σφάλλειν ἔναι τῶν βροτῶν καὶ τῶν θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων.
Λάβετε γὰρ κ' ἐπάρετε τούτην τὴν ἱστορία
νὰ δῆτε κατορθώματα, Λεξάνδρου τὴν παιδεία·
ἀνδρεία γὰρ ἐκέκτητο κι αὐτὴν τὴν σωφροσύνη,
ἰδέτ' ἂν ἦτον σώφρονας κ' εἶχε δικαιοσύνη.
Γυναῖκα γὰρ τοῦ Δάρειου εἶχε 'χμαλωτισμένη,
μ' ἐκείνην δὲν ἐμοίχευσε, σὰν τό 'χουν μιασμένοι,
πού 'τον εἰς τὴν νεότητα καὶ εἶχε ἐξουσία,
τὸ συνειδὸς τὸν ἔλεγχε κ' ἔφυγε ἀνομία.
Αὐτεῖνο γὼ διάβασα, γραμμένο γὰρ τὸ εἶδα
εἰσὲ βιβλίον ἔμορφον στὸν στορικὸν Σουΐδα·

Εὐνοῦχος τῆς βασίλισσας ἔφυγε εἰς Δαρεῖον,
κ' ἐρώτησέ τον Δάρειος γιὰ τῶν αὐτοῦ παιδίων,
ἂν ζῆ καὶ ἡ μητέρα του κι αὐτείνη ἡ γυνή του,
καὶ ἀπὸ κεῖνον ἔμαθε τ' ἀγάπα ἡ ψυχή του.
Λέγει του· «Οἱ κυράδες μου βασίλισσες καλοῦνται,
καὶ ἀπὲ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον πολλὰ εὐχαριστοῦνται.
Κυρά μου ἡ βασίλισσα ἔναι μὲ τὴν τιμή της,
τινὰς οὐδὲν τὴν ἔγγιξε αὐτὴν εἰς τὸ κορμί της.»
Σὰν τ' ἄκουσεν ὁ Δάρειος, στὸν οὐρανὸν κοιτάζει,
τὰς χεῖρας του ἀσήκωσε καὶ τὸν θεὸν δοξάζει·
«Εὐχαριστῶ σου,» εἶπε, «Ζεῦ, ἐσὲν τὴ βασιλεία,
ὁπὅδωσες καὶ τῶν φθαρτῶν ταύτην τὴν ἐξουσία
καὶ βασιλεύουν ἐπὶ γῆς μὲ θέλημα δικό σου.
Σὺ βασιλειά μοῦ ἔδωσες, κι ἂν ἔναι ὁρισμός σου,
αὐτείνη φύλαξον ἐμοί, εἰ δὲ καὶ οὐ θελήσης,
τὸ κράτος, τὸ βασίλειον θέλεις νὰ μοῦ στερήσης,
παρακαλῶ σ' Ἀλέξανδρου αὐτεῖνο νὰ χαρίσης
καὶ ἄλλα περισσότερα βασίλεια νὰ δωρίσης.»
Ἰδέτε τί κατόρθωμα ἔναι ἡ σωφροσύνη,
γιὰ τὸν ἐχθρὸν παρακαλεῖ καὶ πέφτει 'ς δουλοσύνη.
Ἐτετυπώθη τὸ λοιπόν, ἔλαβε γὰρ καὶ τέλος
ἐτούτη ἡ ἱστόρια καὶ τὸ ὡραῖον μέλος,
ἔτει μετὰ τὴν λύτρωσιν ἀνθρώπων γὰρ τὴν νέα,
χίλια πεντακόσια δὶς δέκα καὶ ἐννέα,
στὰς δεκαπέντε τοῦ μηνός, λέγω τοῦ Σεπτεμβρίου,
κόπος καὶ δεξιότητι Ζήνου τοῦ Δημητρίου.

46 ὁρισμόσου

PART THREE

COMMENTARY

Note

What follows is not intended to be a commentary, historical or otherwise, on the Alexander Romance itself, for which the works of Ausfeld, Merkelbach, Tarn and others may be consulted. Nor has it proved possible, for reasons of lack of space, to comment in detail on the relationship of the *Rimada* to the other versions of the Alexander Romance. Thus, in the main, the commentary which follows is restricted to a discussion of problems relating to the text, interpretation, grammar, syntax, versification and style.

The Title

The first edition of the *Rimada* gives two alternative forms for the title: at the head of the text—the head-title—the full form appears: Γέννησις, κατορθώματα καὶ θάνατος 'Αλεξάνδρου τοῦ Μακεδόνος διὰ στίχου. This is in all probability the title which was found in the manuscript. With the exception of the phrase διὰ στίχου it is likely that the same title, or one very similar, was applied to the prose version of the Romance from which the *Rimada* is descended. Other Greek versions have quite different titles e.g. A-Βίος 'Αλεξάνδρου τοῦ Μακεδόνος, L-Βίος 'Αλεξάνδρου τοῦ Μακεδόνος καὶ πράξεις; the other β-type mss generally refer to it as «Callisthenes historian of the Greeks», though ms K precedes the attribution with the words 'Αλέξανδρος ὁ Μακεδών. Ms P has the following title, which imitates the titles of «Saints' lives»: Βίος καὶ πολιτεία τοῦ ἐν βασιλεῦσι γενναιοτάτου καὶ δοκιμωτάτου 'Αλεξάνδρου τοῦ τῶν Μακεδόνων βασιλέως. The head-title of the *Rimada* is reminiscent of the Latin version of Valerius, where the three books into which the Romance is divided are headed respectively «Ortus Alexandri», «Actus Alexandri» and «Obitus Alexandri». The second title of the *Rimada* is found on the title-page proper and consists of the words 'Αλέξανδρος ὁ Μακεδών. This abbreviated version is probably to be attributed to the publisher or printer. On the subject of books which bear two different titles see R. B. McKerrow, *An Introduction to Bibliography for literary students*, Oxford, 1927, pp. 91-2.

3. θαλάσσου: This odd form is found many times in texts dating from

various periods of the development of modern Greek, sometimes with the feminine article, sometimes the masculine. τῆς (τσῆ in Cretan) θαλάσσου is the more common; besides the present passage it occurs at Erof. V 323, Panor. IV 231, Achel. 497, Boun. Kr. Pol. 300[17], Apokop. 395, Zinon Prol. 65, Choumnos ms. 720, Alosis Konst. 931, Mach.6[24], Penth. Than. 281, Kartanos ch. 120 *et pass.*, Katsaïtis If. IV 326, *id.* Kl. IV 332, Vendram. Fil. 315, Kr. Interm. II 11, Late-Byz. H. 74. 26, etc. τοῦ θαλάσσου is found at Achel. 1012 and 1050; this form led to the assumption of a nominative θάλασσον by the lexicographers (e.g. Meursius). This welter of examples leaves no doubt that θαλάσσου was a very common medieval form. Its origin was thought by Pernot (on Achelis p. 177) to be the influence of τοῦ πελάγου but this is hardly convincing. A more probable explanation is the analogy of ἡ ἄβυσσος, frequently used in the LXX with the meaning of «the deep» (Sophocles Lex.) e.g. Gen. 1,2 σκότος ἐπάνω τῆς ἀβύσσου.

5. For ἐξαπλωμένη which seems to make little sense, the poet might have been expected to write τὴν οἰκουμένη, which is actually found in A (but not P).

6. διαρμηνεμένοι: The early editions read διαρμηνεμένη—«expounded»— but the masc. pl. form has been written in order to avoid the awkward change of subject. (The modern editor is not, of course, at all committed to following the orthography of early printed editions on such points). Thus the meaning is «instructed», as often elsewhere, cf. vv. 60, 478, 838, 1410.

7. On Nectanebus see B. E. Perry «The Egyptian legend of Nectanebus», *TAPA* 97, 1966, 327ff. Ἔλεγε: one would expect a word meaning «they say» or «it is said» (φασὶ A, λέγουσι β, P, «it is said» Arm.). Perhaps λέγουσι should be read.

11. This line contains two problems: firstly the word ἐξέβαινε which the later editions, from 1553 onwards, amend to ἐξέβανε and, secondly, the spelling and meaning of στρατεία. To take the second problem first, since its solution has a direct bearing on the first, the difficulty is that AG knew two different words: στρατιὰ «army» and στρατεία «expedition». Naturally two such similar words were easily confused. Even in Classical Greek στρατιὰ is found used with the meaning of «expedition». Itacism and synizesis gradually made the two words identical in pronunciation. Thus, when the form without synizesis is used in dialects and *metri gratia*, there is no longer any distinction of meaning. In the present text there occur an oxytone form (sometimes trisyllabic) and a paroxytone form, both of which may mean either «army» or «expedition» and often the meaning is indeterminate between the two. The only distinction between the two forms is thus their metrical pattern. In other texts too the words are confused: Katsaïtis has στρατεία in the sense of «army» (If. V 100) and Tzane Koronaios has τῆς στρατίας (p. 10) where the meaning is also «army» not «expedition». The tendency of the Zakynthian idiom to avoid synizesis is another factor in the second case (Koronaios came from Zakynthos) as it is in the *Rimada*. It has therefore been decided that metrical accentuation should be the guiding principle: the word is spelt στρατιὰ or στρατεία in the edited text, and both forms can carry both possible connotations. In line 11 it is not clear whether the meaning is «army» or «expedition». If it were the latter, one would expect 'ς στρατεία or else σὲ πόλεμου στρατεία (cf. 478, where the meaning is, however, closer to «the art of war») and would be justified in amending accordingly. Otherwise στρατεία, in the sense of «army», must be taken as the direct object of the verb which must therefore be amended to ἐξέβανε. This is in fact the solution employed by the editor of the 1553 edition, and followed by the later editions which are dependent on it. Against this, however, must be reckoned the reading of P: καὶ ποτὲ ἐὰν ἐφαίνετον φωσάτον, νὰ ἔρχεται ἀπάνω του οὐδὲν ἐξέβαινεν εἰς πόλεμον ἀλλὰ ἐπήγαινεν εἰς τὸ παλάτιν του καὶ ἐποίει λεκανομαντεία. The reading which would best accord with P is: ἐξέβαινε σὲ πόλεμον, 'ς στρατεία. For another case where 'ς must be added to the printed text, see v. 1033.

13. ἐργαζέτονε: for this form of the third sing. impf., which does not occur elsewhere in the poem, cf. ἐρχέτονε Chron. Turc. 27.

16. «The wax uttered a reply to what he wishes to command». The ps-Call. says simply that Nectanebus performed an incantation over the wax; but the reading of P is: καὶ ἔλεγεν ἐπῳδὴν καὶ ἔκραζε τοὺς δαίμονας· καὶ ἐσυντύχαιναν οἱ πλαστοὶ ἄνθρωποι. This explains several points about the text of the *Rimada*: σπουδὴν (15) clearly comes from

a misreading of ἐπῳδήν; the reference to the wax figures speaking likewise derives from the P text, but its presence there is difficult to explain. Only the β text-group has anything vaguely similar: καὶ τῇ ἐπῳδῇ ἔμπνοα ἐγίνοντο τὰ ἀνθρωπάρια.

17-20. Here the *Rimada* agrees with P: the rod is used to strike the wax effigies and sink them in the water. In A, β, Arm., etc. the wax figures and ships sink through the power of the spell and the ebony rod is only part of Nectanebus' equipment. Likewise it is only in P that the making of wax ships occurs *after* the incantation over the human effigies.

20a-b. A very similar proverb is recorded by N. G. Politis for Athens: 'Η γνώση περνᾶ τὴν ἀντρεία. (Ν. Γ. Πολίτης, *Μελέται περὶ τοῦ βίου καὶ τῆς γλώσσης τοῦ ἑλληνικοῦ λαοῦ-Παροιμίαι*, 4 vols, Athens, 1899-1902, vol. 4 s.v. γνώση 14). N. G. Politis also cites the present version from the edition of 1533 (sic). Another version of the same proverb is recorded from Cephalonia: 'Η τέχνη νικάει τὴν ἀντρειά (Δ. Σ. Λουκᾶτος, *Κεφαλονίτικα Γνωμικά*, Athens, 1952, No. 759).

22. Convincing proof that Codex Meteorensis Metamorphosis 445 was copied from the *editio princeps* is provided by ἀκαρτερῆς. The 1529 ed., but not the 1553 or later ones, used a broken α which had almost completely lost its «arms». The scribe of Cod. Met. naively wrote οκαρτερῆς (see also *Plate II*).

25-8. The names of the attacking nations are gravely distorted. The Μῆδοι are presumably the 'Ινδοὶ of β and P; Ξηδαρκίτες is a version of 'Οξύδρακες (A, β, P); there are Arabs mentioned in A, but not in β or P; Βηθαϊσδὰ may be traced via 'Ιβησθαὲς (P) to "Ιβηρες (β); the Κάχονες are the Καύκωνες of AL and the Καύχωνες of β and P (there is much manuscript variation over this word); the 'Αχαῖοι are probably the "Αγροι of A, L, Arm. (Ausfeld's correction of the ms reading 'Αργεῖοι) though P has no counterpart for this, unless it be Χάλλικες; finally the Χαναναῖοι («Canaanites»—see LXX Gen. 12,6 etc.) probably originate from Χαλδαῖοι (L, Leo, χαλκάλιοι A, Χάλυβες β), which P translates into Πέρσαι. The proper names in this passage provide excellent evidence that, while P and the *Rimada* have no direct dependence one on another, they are certainly in close affinity, and represent independent adaptions at not many removes from a common ancestor.

31. The poet has omitted the first part of Nectanebus' reply: «One lion can overpower many deer». Instead he adds v. 32, which is pure padding. The proverb is one of those attributed to Alexander in the Vienna collection (No. 11): καὶ τὰ πρόβατα πλείονα ὄντα ὑφ' ἑνὸς ἢ δευτέρου λύκου χειροῦνται. (C. Wachsmuth, «Die Wiener Apophthegmensammlung», *Festschrift 36. Philologenversammlung*, Karlsruhe, 1882).

34. The line refers to Nectanebus' usual practice of stopping his enemies by means of *Lekanomanteia*. It is rendered obscure only by the necessity of rhyme. P has: ἐγὼ μὲ λόγον ἕνα ταῦτα τὰ ἔθνη θέλω τὰ καταποντίσει.

34a-d. No close parallels have been discovered for this Γνωμικόν. It may well have been composed by the versifier himself.

37. ὀκ is a direct descendant of AG ἐκ and still survives in the Ionian Isles in the form ὀχ. It is found very frequently in the poem, often suffering aphaeresis like εἰς e.g. v. 38.

40. στάμενα: a general word for money. Other monetary terms used in the *Rimada* are κηντηνάρια, φλουρία, πέρπυρα and δουκάτα. For all these, and other weights and measures, see E. Shilbach, *Byzantinische Metrologie*, Munich, 1970.

41. In reality Nect. fled to Ethiopia; see Diod. XVI 49.6.

42. ὅπου τὸν εὔρ' ἡ ὥρα: «aimlessly, from place to place». The phrase seems to have a proverbial ring about it.

42a-d. Again no analogous proverb has been discovered. With its reference to τοῦ βασιλέως it seems highly likely to have been composed specifically for the occasion.

42c. For the phrase ἀποθαίνω στὴν τιμή μου cf. Chron. Turc. 91: ἕως νὰ ἀποθάνῃ εἰς τὴν τιμή του.

42d. The line illustrates the complete inconsistency of the poem over the use of final -ν. However, no attempt has been made to regularise it, except where rhyme or metre demands its exclusion.

46. ἀφέντης = ὁ ἀφέντης. The article is, as often, lost before the initial vowel of the noun, cf. v.84 ἄνδρας.

49. Γύπτιοι has not only suffered aphaeresis (cf. MG Γύφτοι) but also lost its article, in obedience to metrical needs.

51-2. «They wrote their words to their lord Nect., that he should listen to the gods and return». The word order and the sense are obscure. Some improvement could be made by writing ποὺ 'κ τοὺς θεοὺς ἀκοῦσι (cf. P: ἔγραψαν καὶ τὸν λόγον ὃν ἤκουσαν παρὰ τῶν θεῶν), but, as the whole passage is clearly completely distorted in the *Rimada,* such a change would be pointless.

54a-d. The second couplet of this Γνωμικὸν is reminiscent of the common proverb «Μάθε μιὰ τέχνη κι ἄς τηνε, κι ἂν χρειαστῆ ξαναπιάσ' τηνε». With this may be compared the Cephalonian «Μάθε τέχνη γιὰ νὰ ζήσης, καὶ πραμάτεια νὰ πλουτίσης» (Loukatos, *op. cit.*, No. 994). For the first couplet the following medieval saying may be compared: Τῶν φρονίμων τὰ παιδία, πρὶν πεινάσου, μαγειρεύουν (see K. Krumbacher, «Mittelgriechische Sprichwörter», *Sitzungsberichte der Königl. Bayer. Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 1893, Vol. 2 pp. 1-272, No. 101). Here it seems likely that the versifier was adapting a well-known saying in order to render it more appropriate to the case of Nectanebus.

59. ὁ μαθημένος: compare ὁ μαθητής (P), μαθηματικός (β).

63. Since the form φαγγάρι is found nowhere else it has been considered a misprint of the first ed., uncorrected in later edd. until that of 1603.

64. A and β count seven stars, plus the sun and the moon. The number in the *Rimada* (6) perhaps results from the misconception that the seven stars included the sun and moon. P does not specify the number: ἐξέβαλεν ἀπὸ τὸν κόλπον του πινάκιν καὶ εἶχεν ἀπέσω του ἄστρη τὰ μεγάλα, λιθάρια πολυτίμητα, καὶ τὸν ἥλιον καὶ τὸ φεγγάριν.

69-72. «He questioned her about her husband's birth, which thing she ordered him to do in front of her. Then he related his own particulars instead of those (i.e. Philip's), and reckoned all his ancestry from the beginning». The passage is obscure partly because of the lack of subject pronouns and partly because the versifier does not seem to have fully understood the meaning himself. P misses completely the point that Nect. substitutes his own birthdate for Philip's: εἰπέ μοι τὴν γέννησίν σου καὶ τοῦ ἀνδρός σου. ὁ δὲ Νεκτεναβὼν ἐκράτησεν τοὺς ἀριθμοὺς τῆς γεννήσεως αὐτῶν καὶ ἀναμέτρησε...

80. The last word of this line appears as γένη in the early editions. This might lead one to suspect the existence of a hitherto unknown and curiously formed diminutive *γένι or *γέννι from γέννημα, or γένος with the meaning of «offspring». The same word occurs in v.234, but here it is virtually certain that τῷ γένει must be written. Thus the present instance is probably only another example of a dative being used instead of a nom./acc. as a mark of «refinement» cf. δυνάμη, ὀνεῖρο, μαρτυρίο (whose accentuation is proper to the dat.) and μητρὶ and the like (where dat. forms are actually used as nominatives). γένει is therefore merely a false form for γένος. An alternative correction—οὐδὲ κανὲν νὰ γένη—is more difficult as the pronoun lacks a neuter antecedent.

85. κ' εἰς τ' ἄλλα: a meaningless phrase, the only function of which is to provide a rhyme for μεγάλα.

86. στὴν Βαρβαριά: cf. P εἰς τὴν Βαρβαρίαν. A and β have τῆς Λιβύης.

89-90. Rhyme and metre have again prevailed at the expense of syntax and sense: τὸ hovers between being a relative pronoun and an object pronoun heralding the indirect question; ἔχ' is probably ἔχω—«If I am to gain any benefit from it» (the dream? or «him» i.e. the god?). The original passage in A runs: «Τοῦτο ἐὰν ἴδω, οὐχ ὡς προφήτην ἢ μάγον, ἀλλ' ὡς θεόν σε προσκυνήσω» (similarly β).

91. The reading of the editions—κάμνει—is probably an editorial «correction», since κάνει is necessary for a perfect rhyme.

96. κερένη (γυναίκα): The fem. κερένη for κερένια is a poetic licence.

98. The syntax is peculiar: the gen. τοῦ λύχνου must be equivalent to στὸ λύχνο, so that the meaning is «he put some of the juice on to the lamp so that it might have charm therefrom».

100. Logically speaking, the last word of the line should be plural, to agree with the understood subject θεοί.

101. As it appears in the editions the line is hypermetric. It has been corrected by writing στὸν for εἰς τόν. The codex also made an attempt to correct — by removing the verb!

105. In this line there is an echo of the reading of P (ἐνεπλάκη τὴν 'Ολυμπιάδαν) but the verb chosen by the poet is one which, nowadays at least, has rather a vulgar and far from poetic flavour. The two verbs do not, of course, have the same root.

109. Some editors maintain that it is not necessary to remove a superfluous final -ν from the texts they are editing in order to improve the rhyme. The Greek ear, they claim, was not at this time sensitive to such differences. But the mere fact that editors or printers of reprinted texts do make changes of this very kind is sufficient to show that they considered it an imperfection. For example, the 1553 ed. of the *Rimada* changes ἐκεῖνον to ἐκεῖνο in the present line, πρίκα to πρίκαν (330), χώραν to χώρα (1085), ἡμέραν to ἡμέρα (1092), γράφο to γράφον (!) (1405), μεγάλη to μεγάλην (2088). (But the 1553 ed. leaves other shortcomings of this type uncorrected e.g. lines 597, 993, 1672, 2784). It is also significant that the majority of superfluous final -ν which destroy the rhyme occur in the first line of a couplet. This implies that the scribe, editor or printer employed a deliberately archaising policy which sometimes led him to a violation of the rhyme. Thus, in the present edition, a superfluous final -ν has been treated as a violation of the rhyme and accordingly removed, but in all other circumstances it has been left intact, since its inconsistent use is in keeping with the mixed character of the language of the poem.

113. The form ἡ κεφάλη is produced by a conflation of τὸ κεφάλι and ἡ κεφαλή, and is apparently still in use in Rhodes (see Einl. 430). It occurs several times in early modern Greek texts: Def. Log. Did. 640 ὀχ τὴν κεφάλην μου, Koron. p. 15 τοῦ 'κοψε τὴν κεφάλην, and *ibid.* p. 62, Georg. Than. 437 τῆς λωλῆς του κεφάλης, Kartanos Ch. 182 ἐκάθοτον (sic) ἕνας πρὸς τὴν κεφάλη καὶ ἄλλος πρὸς τὰ ποδάρια. Perhaps its distribution was limited to the peripheral linguistic areas of the Ionian Isles and Rhodes.

115. The first clause of Nect.'s reply must be understood as equivalent to the protasis of a condition cf. P ἐὰν θέλεις νὰ ἔρχεται πρὸς σὲ ὁ Ἄμμων ὁ θεὸς τῇ νυκτὶ τοῦ συγγένεσθαι σοι, δός μοι ἄδειαν ὅταν θέλω νὰ ἔρχωμαι εἰς τὴν κοίτην σου.

116. The form βραδὺ is also found in Chron. Mor. 3849, Gad. 18, Call. 1683 and 2225. See also Hist. Lex. and MNE I.174. In ps-Call. Nect. asks not for permission (ἄδειαν and ἐξουσίαν in P) but for a small chamber (χωρημάτιον A, χώρημα β) near Olympias' own. The confusion lies in the many meanings of ἄδεια, which presumably first entered the texts with its spatial meaning (as a modernisation of χωρημάτιον or χώρημα) and was later understood in the sense of «leave».

117-8. The couplet makes little sense in its present form, nor does the corresponding passage in P (quoted above) offer much help. Perhaps line 117 might be amended to: Διὰ νὰ κάμῃ συντροφιὰ θεὸς γὰρ ὁ 'Αμμῶνος. However, with such an inelegant work there is always the danger that changes of such a kind will amount not to re-establishment of what the author actually wrote, but literary improvement of a kind of which the original author was incapable.

124a-d. Parallel to this proverb is the very common «Ὁ νηστικὸς καρβέλια ὀνειρεύεται». Another variation of the same theme is found in the E. Cretan proverb:

«Τά 'χει ἡ γρὰ 'ς τὸ λογισμό τζης
τὰ θωρεῖ καὶ 'ς τ' ὄνειρό τζης»

(Pangalos IV 475). Cf. Ὅ,τ' εἶχεν ἡ γρηὰ 'στὸ νοῦ της, τὄβλεπε 'στὸ ὄνειρό της (G. Soyter, «Neugriechische Lieder, Disticha und Sprichwörter», *Λαογραφία* 11, 1934 p. 214 no. 65).

124d. For the phrase θαρρετὰ κρατῶ = «confidently expect», «hold as certain», «trust» cf. Apokop. 352 τὸν Ἄδην νὰ κατέβωμεν ὡς θαρρετὰ κρατοῦμαν; also Choumnos M IX 34, Synax. Gyn. 13, 903, Ger. Kor. 78.

131. That Nectanebus should address Olympias as κυρὰ γουμένη is both anachronistic and inappropriate. The poet was presumably motivated by rhyme and his general lack of sensitivity.

149-150. Μήπως κ' ἔλθῃ... βρῇ... δὲν τὸ πομένει: the shift from subjunctive to indicative could have been avoided if the poet had written: μηδὲ τὸ ἀπομένῃ. The transitive use of πομένω (= «tolerate») is found a further three times in the poem (326, 792, 2566), including once in the form ἀπομένω, though the derivation of the meaning is from ὑπομένω. Compare the Cretan ἀπομονὴ (Erot. Gloss.).

157. δὲν εἶχε τί νὰ ποίσῃ: the phrase occurs in various persons and tenses, at vv. 177, 1417, 1716, 1884, 2119, 2135; cf. Achill. N. 581 οὐκ εἶχαν τί νὰ ποίσουν, *ibid.* N. 1616 τὸ τί νὰ ποίσω οὐκ ἔχω.

158. The second half of the line is a frequently used «filler» cf. 520, 580, 688, 1060, etc.

162. προσέχεται: The middle / passive voice seems to be restricted to the present work and to Defaranas: Log. Did. 22 κι ὅσοι δὲν τὰ προσέχονται κράζονται 'Αραβῖτες (where Falieros has καὶ ὅσοι δὲν τὴν προσέχουσιν κράζε τους δι' 'Αραβῖτες), *ibid.* 310 προσέχεται (Falieros 274 has the same). On the frequent interchange of active and passive in Defaranas' *Λόγοι Διδακτικοί* see Karaiskaki's note on line 22. In the present case the reason is probably not so much that the mediopassive was considered a mark of literary style, but a confusion between two verbs—προσέχω and προσεύχομαι—whose meanings are similar and their pronunciation identical in the common spoken language.

179. P has the same expression: ἐξουσίαν ἔχουν οἱ θεοὶ ἡμῶν.

182a-b. Only slightly changed, the proverb appears in the collection of Komoutos p. 14: Καλὸς λόγος εἰς τὴν χρείαν θαραπεύει τὴν καρδίαν.

183. σὲ μέρες ὀλιγούτσικες: for the phrase and this diminutive adj. cf. Achel. 592 κ' εἰς μέρες ὀλιγούτσικες, and Apokop. 439 εἰς ὥραν ὀλιγούτσικην.

184a-b. The meaning seems to be: «A secret will spread even though it is not brought out into the open» i.e. «No matter how well you try to keep a secret, people will find out». The same proverb also occurs in the form: Τὸ χρυφὸ μακραίνει καὶ 'στὸ φανερὸ ἐβγαίνει (G. Soyter «Neugriechische Lieder, Disticha und Sprichwörter», *Λαογραφία* 11, 1934, p. 215 no. 77).

187. ἀρμάδα: «court»—a strange use of the word. It is unlikely that a Greek from the Ionian Isles, or indeed one living in Venice, would be ignorant of the correct meaning of the Venetian word *armada.* It is, therefore, tempting to amend it to ὁμάδα as in line 192. One piece of evidence indicates, however, that amendation may not be necessary: in a fairy-tale from Zakynthos collected by Minotou (Param. B p.417) the following distich occurs:

Ντένεται καὶ στολίζεται φορεῖ τὰ ρικαμάδα,
καὶ παρευθὺς νὰ εὑρεθῇ στοῦ ρήγα τὴν ἀρμάδα.

Here, too, the appropriate meaning is «court». Could the word have found its way into the Zakynthian idiom with the meaning of αὐλὴ as a result of a single chance misprint in a sixteenth century book? The possibility seems remote. In any case ἀρμάδα is not restricted to «fleet»; its primary meaning is given by Meursius as *exercitus* and this is also the primary meaning of the Venetian *armada* (see Boerio) and the modern Italian *armata.* From «military commanders» to «courtiers» is a simple step. Accordingly the word has been retained in the text. (A further possibility, that ἀρμάδα here means «fine apparel» (cf. ἁρμάτα Hist. Lex.), has been rejected since a collective noun is required to match the τους of the following verse).

194. γεράκι: actually an eagle in all the other versions which mention it.

196. The form οὖλοι is the usual one in the modern Zakynthian idiom (Konomos Lex.), but this is the sole example of it in the poem and it is guarded by rhyme. Elsewhere ὅλος is found frequently e.g. 6, 9, 32, 34, 132, 181, etc. Tzane Koronaios of Zakynthos, writing in 1519, uses the two forms ὅλος and οὖλος indiscriminately (pp. 4, 9, 10, etc.); the Cretan Choumnos also availed himself of the form οὖλος ('ms 951, 1494 and 2520). Later in Cretan literature it is found frequently: Erof. II 1251, IV 806, Stathis III 356, Panor. Prol. 33, *ibid.* I 97. According to Xanthoudidis the form was still heard commonly in West Crete, but rarely in East Crete, in his day (Erot. Closs. *s. v.*). Thus the form οὖλος cannot be considered exclusively Heptanesian, even in the early sixteenth century. Since οὖλος was already widely in use by the date of publication of the *Rimada*, it might be expected to occur there more frequently. It may well be that in places where it is not protected by rhyme it has been transmuted by the editor into ὅλος or some part of πᾶς or ἅπας. To restore οὖλος in all instances,

however, would be very ill-advised, as would the restoration of all cases of αὐτὸς and αὐτεῖνος to εὐτὸς and εὐτεῖνος (see Introd. p. 69), not only because the language of the poem, like all texts of this period, abounds in a multiplicity of forms, but also because our knowledge of the idiom we might hope to «restore» is, to say the least, sketchy and incomplete.

202a-b. The proverb is simply a variation of the very common «Ὁ φόβος φυλάει τὰ ἔρ(η)μα»; cf. for example, Loukatos, *Κεφαλονίτικα Γνωμικά*, No. 1090, and Komoutos p. 18.

207. Ἡμέρες περαζόμενες: cf. Choumnos ms. 1683 σὲ μέρες περαζόμενες, and elsewhere in the present work lines 331, 395, 2201. The meaning («one day») is quite distinct from that of phrases like τοὶ περαζόμενους καιρούς (Erot. I 19 cf. V 1357), where the participle is past in meaning.

208. καρκαρήθη: the usual form of the word is κακκαρίζω. The form καρκαρίζω is mentioned by Zois Lex. and also occurs in Koron. p. 86 μηδὲν καρκαρίσῃς. No evidence for a passive form with active meaning has been discovered so it is highly probable that the present instance is due solely to the dictates of the rhyme.

215. Ἀντίφωτον: his name is Ἀντιφῶν in A.

217. γιαμιά: this interpretation of the 1529 text (γιαμία) seems preferable to γιὰ μιά, although it creates the additional difficulty that the neuter pronoun τὸ then heralds a feminine substantive. However μαγεία never occurs elsewhere in the poem with the indefinite article, whereas γιαμιὰ occurs everywhere else, except line 2735, in the phrase τότε(ς) γιαμιὰ and in the same position in the verse as here.

227. The last part of the line is clearly corrupt. The last word, ἄλλη, certainly conceals ζάλη so that the simplest correction would be to write κ' ἦρθε κοντά της ζάλη. The same conjecture seems to be behind the reading of the *Phyllada* (p.57): ἔγιναν παρευθὺς βρονταῖς μὲ ἄνεμον, καὶ ἦλθε κοντά της μία ἀντάρα, καὶ τὴν περιεκύκλωσεν εἰς τρόπον, ὁποῦ ἐφοβήθησαν μικροὶ καὶ μεγάλοι, which is believed to be drawing on a printed or manuscript copy of the *Rimada* at this and several other points (see Introd. p. 41). Possibly more emendation is necessary: e.g. κ' ἦρθεν ἀνεμοζάλη.

228. μικροί τε καὶ μεγάλοι: this formulaic phrase occurs very frequently in early popular texts e.g. Flor. 135, 409, 1840, Belis. 32, 176, 232, etc., Pol. Tr. 356, Chron. Mor. 906, 980, 1012, etc., Georg., Than. 18, Imb. 242, 336, 883, Triv. Tag. 227, etc; elsewhere in the *Rimada* at vv. 700, 1184, 2293, 2649.

234. For τῷ γένει see on line 80.

235. The ed. princeps reading τούτον has been interpreted as του (ἦ)τον cf. *Achill.* 98 τὸ κάλλος του ἦτον θαυμαστόν. Another similarity between that passage and the present one is that Achilles is also likened to a lion, *ibid.* 100-1.

240. The second half of the line is very feeble: presumably the meaning is, «The two of them had supreme authority (for Alexander's education)». This weakness was felt by the editor of the 1553 edition, who emended to θέλη: «the two of them had such things as (each) wishes». This change was naturally followed by the later editions (1600, 1603, etc.).

242. ὁποὺ οὐκ ἦτον ἄλλο: «the like of which did not exist». Cf. 818 στὸν κόσμον ὅλον τὸ λοιπὸν πού δὲν ηὑρίσκετ' ἄλλος (and cf. 868), 1252 ὁπού στὸν κόσμον τὸ λοιπὸν οὐκ ηὕρισκες γὰρ ἄλλον. In all these cases the relative pronoun stands for «like to which».

249. The phrase κτυπῶ κονδαρέα is equivalent to κονταροχτυπῶ (see Erot. Gloss. s. v.).

260. κάστρο is merely a convenient rhyme for ἄστρο. In the ps-Call. Nectanebus takes Alexander outside the city.

262. The revelation that Nectanebus is Alexander's father should of course come later (line 270). The poet was forced to add a line to complete the couplet, and in doing so made nonsense of the dialogue between Nectanebus and Alexander.

264. A «padding» line. The point of Alexander's reply in the ps-Call. is that Nectanebus is examining the heavens though he has no understanding of earthly affairs.

265 ff. The two speeches of Nectanebus, 265-6 and 269-270, were origi-

nally one in the ps-Call. In between the author of the *Rimada*—or its prose model—has interpolated an ingenious remark which he attributes to Alexander: «If you knew what I was going to do, why didn't you get out of the way?»

266. The solecism (non-agreement of past participle and object) is necessitated by the all-important rhyme.

267. ἤξερες θὲς νὰ ποίσω = ἂν ἤξερες τί θὰ ἔκανα. Odd though this form of the protasis of a condition may seem, it does not diverge greatly from the common practice in medieval Greek: some part of θέλω could be used in either the apodosis (as in modern Greek θὰ) or the protasis of the condition. Thus in *Erotokritos* we find: ἂν τὸ κατέχασι, ἐθέλανε τὸ λέγει... (I 1013) and ἂν ἤθελα γνωρίσω... ἤφρασσα τ' αὐτιὰ (I 987-8). On that analogy ἤθελες ξέρης might be expected here, but by a sort of metathesis of tenses what is in fact found is ἤξερες θές. The omission of the conditional conjunction is not particularly unusual—in such cases the protasis becomes a sort of interrogative (Cf. Thumb. § 277. 3); that νὰ ποίσω could be understood as «what I should do» is perhaps a little more difficult to accept. On the whole the phrase is not unintelligible, but whether it would have been said in that way in the natural spoken language of the time is a question which cannot at present be answered.

276a-d. «What is written as the destiny of every man cannot be changed (or postponed?), but is brought to pass in full». A variation of a common proverb; cf. «Τὰ γραμμένα ἄγραφα δὲν γίνονται» (N. Politis, *Παροιμίαι*, vol. 4, s.v. γράφω no. 14), «Τὰ γραφόμενα δὲν ξεγράφονται» (*id. ibid.* no. 15) and from Cephalonia: «Τά 'χ' ἡ μοίρα μου γραμμένα, δὲν παράρκεται κανένα» (Loukatos, *Κεφαλονίτικα Γνωμικά*, No. 1272). With them may be compared a similar passage in Falieros:

Τοῦ καθενὸς κι ἅ μέλλεται πρέπει γιὰ ν' ἀνιμένη,
'ς ὅτα νὰ ἔλθη ὁ καιρὸς τὸ πεθυμᾶ νὰ γένη.

(Erot. Enypn. 65-6).

290. The «gold-bespangled shroud» is the invention of the poet. The syntax of this line could perhaps be impoved by removing the comma at the end of 289 and writing 'ς σάβανον χρυσοράντιστον.

292. The reading of the first ed. μάντεο is probably a misprint for μάντιο

(= μάντειο), but the accentuation of this form is confirmed by the metre. The shift of accent must be attributed to the poet's ignorance and the analogy of nouns in -ιο e.g. συχώριο, γέλιο, παρακάλιο, βασίλειο.

296. κάτσει is best taken as elliptical for θέλει κάτσει. For the omission of θέλει when repeated compare Katsaïtis Kl. Prosph. 50-1:

...ν' ἀφήσω δὲν ἠθέλησα ἀλησμονία νὰ χώση,
μὰ νὰ τὰ βάλω στὸ χαρτί, τὰ γράψη (scr. γράψει) καὶ τυπώση (-ει).

298. διά: this is one of the few occasions in the poem when διὰ must be scanned as a single syllable. The others are 1090, 1145 and 1254. Everywhere else a fine distinction is maintained: διὰ is disyllabic, γιὰ a monosyllable (cf. 1829 where both occur), with the latter outnumbering the former.

317. A says that the Episode occurred when Alexander was fifteen. No age is mentioned by β. The «half-rhyme» of παλικαρία and Μωρέα is probably to be tolerated as it stands (see Introd. p. 92). Nonetheless the editions of 1600 and 1603 were not happy with it, and emended to παλικαρέα — a form without historical justification.

321. The scribe of Codex Meteorensis thought it impossible to be armed with horses, so he wrote ἅρματα instead of ἄλογα. Certainly the line does not make very good sense but the reason is probably twofold: (1) ἀρματώθη was a useful rhyme for ἐστεφανώθη, and (2) the verb was suggested by the phrase σὺν τοῖς ἅρμασιν, the confusion of ἅρματα and ἅρματα being a frequent one throughout medieval Greek.

322. At first sight this line seems completely out of place here, as the games have not even begun yet. The origin for the line probably lies in the words λαβὼν ξένια (πολλὰ) in A and β. Unfortunately P is not available for this passage, but one might imagine that it would have read something like: καὶ ἔλαβε χανίσκια πολλά. This would then have been misunderstood by the poet, who was unfamiliar with the custom of ξένια to refer to prizes in the games. Hence the untimely reference to defeating all and receiving the garland.

323. The name of Nikolaos's father is variously given. A describes Niko-

laos as ἀνδροφυὴς τῇ ἡλικίᾳ: Kroll asks «latet 'Αρριδαίου nomen, quem Nicolai patrem fuisse dicit Byz. v. 816, 873?» VL read 'Ανδρέου and γ 'Αρδαίου, but the most significant version of the name from the point of view of the *Rimada* is that of BK: 'Αρείου. In the context of the Alexander romance, it is easy to understood how this was transformed into the familiar Δαρείου both in the *Rimada* and in the *Phyllada* (perhaps under the direct influence of the *Rimada*).

324. Several lines of dialogue in the ps-Call. are here reduced to four words which correspond not at all to the original passage, and besides are nonsense and governed entirely by the choice of a fitting rhyme-word. No attempt to explain the grammatical, syntactical or semantic peculiarities of the sentence is necessary.

330. πρίκαν: See on 109. Only the *editio princeps* (and C) has the imperfectly-rhyming πρίκα.

334. κ' ἔλαμπε ὡς ἀστέρας: cf. Thes. II 9.4 πὄλαμπε ὡς ἀστέρας.

346. εἴτις ἀπεράση: elliptical for ἄς ἰδοῦμε εἴτις ἀπεράση.

354. The prophecy is spoken by the priest of Zeus (β), or the temple-keeper (A and Arm.) or a deacon (Byz.).

355. The words of the prophecy in the ps-Call, are: «Just as you defeated Nikolaos, so you will defeat many enemies (many in wars - β)». The pun on the proper name is lost in the MG version.

363. βλογητικὸς and εὐλογητικὸς and their feminine counterparts occur frequently in medieval texts first as adjectives («lawfully wedded») then for «husband» and «wife» e.g. Chron. Mor. 3273, 7973, 8878, Choumnos ms. 252, 430, Thes. 1499 (= I. 138.5), 10,090, Katsaïtis If. IV 332, 400, V 91, 318. See Karaiskaki on Def. Log. Did. 295. Cf. εὐλογοῦμαι (Gloss.).

370. The part of Lysias' body which is struck is not stated by A, but β, Arm. and Syr. specify the temple (κρόταφος). P reads ἐπὶ τὸν μυελόν.

378. Cf. P καὶ ἐγένετο ἐκδικητὴς τῆς μητρός του. In P, as in A and β, the clause is placed after the description of the slaughter of the guests. The poet has clearly disturbed the order to facilitate the rhyme.

383. The phrase σὰν νά 'μουνα ἐχθρός σου, which is inserted solely to complete the line and provide a rhyme, occurs verbatim in Thes. Prol. 143.

394a-b. No source for this couplet exists in either the *Proverbs* or the *Wisdom* of Solomon. The following sentence, however, occurs in the collection of wise sayings known as *"Ανθος τῶν Χαρίτων*, Chapter 30: 'Ο σολομῶν εἶπεν· τρεῖς γενεαῖς ἀνθρώπους οὐκ ἀγαπᾶ ὁ Θεός, τὸν πτωχὸν ἀλαζωνικόν, τὸν πλούσιον ψεύτην, καὶ γέρον λολὸν (sic), χωρὶς γνώση. The work, a translation of the popular Italian *Il fiore di virtù*, was first published by Stefano da Sabbio on 6 November 1529, shortly after the *Rimada* (see *BH XV/XVI*, vol. III p. 328, no. 305). However, since the *Γνωμικὰ* are believed to be the work of the versifier, and not of Zinos, the editor of the *Rimada*, it is unlikely that this proverb may be seen as a borrowing from the *"Ανθος* or the *Fiore*. More probably it derives from the biblical source of the *Fiore* at this point - Ecclesiasticus 25.2: Τρία δὲ εἴδη ἐμίσησεν ἡ ψυχή μου καὶ προσώχθισα σφόδρα τῇ ζωῇ αὐτῶν· πτωχὸν ὑπερήφανον, καὶ πλούσιον ψεύστην, γέροντα [μωρὸν καὶ] μοιχὸν ἐλαττούμενον συνέσει. (See C. Frati, «Ricerche sul 'Fiore di Virtù'», *Studi di Filologia Romanza pubblicati da Ernerto Monaci*, vol. VI, Rome, 1893, p. 337). An epigram of Cassia may also be compared (Cod. Marc. gr. 408, line 10): Μισῶ τὸν μακρόν, ἂν πελωλὸς τυγχάνῃ (K. Krumbacher, «Kasia», *Sitzungsberichte der philos.-philol. und der hist. Classe der K.B. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu München*, 1897, I, 363); and there is a somewhat similar proverb current in Western Crete: Ὅποιος γέρως δὲ gατέχει θέλει μνιὰ μὲ τὴ gοπάνα (Pangalos IV 445).

396. ἀπίστησε: A has ἀπέστη - «revolted». There is a confusion between the aor. of ἀφίσταμαι and ἀπιστῶ, «disobey». The two modern Greek versions are here closer to A than to β which paraphrases: Ἦν δὲ ἡ πόλις Μοθώνη ἀντάρασα τῷ Φιλίππῳ.

399-400. This kind of lack of syntactical unity occurs sporadically throughout the poem. For other occurrences of the nominative absolute, see Introd. p. 80.

406. 'γγαρεμένοι: Though the poet probably did not realise, the choice of word is quite felicitous. It is in fact Persian in origin, from a word meaning «a mounted courier of the Persian court», which appears in Greek as ἄγγαρος. The verb ἀγγαρεύω, «to press into service», is found in Hellenistic Greek and the New Testament (Matt. 5.41: 27, 32). In medieval and early modern Greek texts the verb and the nouns ἀγγαρεία, ἐγγαρεία occur frequently (see Kriaras Lex. s.v. ἀγγαρεία) for examples and is still heard in the contemporary language (see Hist. Lex.). (The type ἀγγάριον which is found in Mach. 430[1] is probably a reborrowing from French *angerie*, which it reached from Latin).

418. σὰν ν' ἔναι τῆς ἀσπίδος: it is difficult to imagine what the poet had in mind here — if, at least, he was concerned with anything more than furnishing a presentable rhyme. Perhaps the legendary ἀσπίδα: a snake or dragon — is intended (see Glossary). Four lines later (422) there is another seemingly meaningless phrase: ὄντεν ἐβγῆκε τ' ἄστρο— in which the poet is motivated solely by rhyme. To seek for some logical interpretation in such cases would be a wasted effort.

434. «... because he did not aim for his breast on the other hand». Is this yet another example of the nonsense that the poet of the *Rimada* is capable of producing when he is forced to by his chosen form and metre? Perhaps not. It is odd that P should substitute head for ribs, and even odder that the *Rimada* should mention both head and chest. A clue is provided by A with the word ἠστόχησεν which Kroll emends to ηὐστόχησε. It is possible to imagine a text ancestral to both A and the *Rimada*, which went something like: βάλλει τὴν λόγχην κατὰ τῆς κεφαλῆς τοῦ Φιλίππου καὶ ἠστόχησεν, κατὰ τῆς πλευρᾶς πλήξας. Then in the *Rimada* must be understood a reversal of the two parts of the body, perhaps caused by the lack of punctuation of his original, or by disorder of another kind which also led A to omit the reference to the head and P that to the ribs.

436. The line could perhaps be improved and rendered more intelligible by writing σ' Ὀλυμπιάδα.

438. μὸν must have a temporal meaning here: «straightway, just at that moment» cf. εὐθὺς P. No other identical instance of this usage has

been discovered but if the similar use of μόλις is compared there is no difficulty in accepting the reading as it stands. If emendation were necessary, the obvious change would be to κ' εἰς μιόν, but (curiously?) this adverbial phrase does not occur at all in the present text.

446. ἀκόμα ποὺ ἀνάζει: The phrase refers to Philip, not Pausanias, cf. A ὅτι ἔτι ζῆ, β ἔτι ἔμπνουν ὄντα. For the verb ἀνάζω see Glossary.

448. ὀμπρὸς εἰς τοῦ πατρός του: this apparent solecism occurs in an almost identical form in Dig. Akr. (O) 1259: Μίαν λοιπὸν τῶν ἡμερῶν ὀμπροστὰ 'ς τοῦ πατρός του... Were these the sole examples, they might be dismissed as solecisms employed by mediocre poets for the sake of rhyme. But in Erot. II 2084 there occurs ὀμπρὸς εἰς τῶν ἀνθρώπω, and *ibid.* IV 7 ὀμπρὸς τοῦ Πεζοστράτη. Thus the usage is given acceptability by the more adept Cretan poet. It must, therefore, more logically be regarded not as a solecism but as an ellipsis for ὀμπρὸς εἰς τοῦ πατρός του τὸ πρόσωπο, or perhaps a confusion between ἐνώπιον or ἔμπροσθεν with genitive and ἐμπρὸς εἰς.

453-4. With this couplet compare vv. 1393-4 which describe the death of Darius in almost identical words. In both places it seems that the poet was imitating Choumnos ms 269-270 (see Introd. p. 59).

459. The line lacks one-syllable. It could be corrected by adding the definite article at the beginning (the Codex inserts the definite article after the first word) but such a «correction» would be based on the assumption that what the author intended to write has become corrupted in the course of the process of transmission. No such assumption can be made here since the same metrical imperfection occurs frequently at the beginning of letters by Alexander - lines 643, 729, 1015, 1033, 1509, 1993. Occasionally there are other forms in which the correct number of syllables is found: Βασιλεὺς γὰρ 'Αλέξανδρος (1805), and Βασιλεὺς ὁ 'Αλέξανδρος (1411, 2149, 2459, 2521, 2553, 2819). Βασιλεὺς 'Αλέξανδρος is the usual opening of Alexander's letter in the prose versions (A, β and P). This was adopted wholesale by the poet — only occasionally did he, or his editor, feel the need of an extra syllable. Apparently it never occurred to either of them to write 'Αλέξανδρος ὁ βασιλεύς...

468. ἀπάνω κάτω: for reasons of rhyme the standard Greek form must here be substituted for the more dialectal ἀπάνου κάτου of the *ed.*

princeps. On balance the standard forms of the two adverbs are the more frequent in the poem (excepting the present instance, 35 against 15 examples of the -ου types). The rhyme of φουσάτο with ἀπάνω κάτω occurs two other times: lines 23-4 and 2789-90.

469. τιμῶ: must here bear the meaning of τιμωρῶ, as it sometimes can in AG — see LSJ.

485-492. The numbers and composition of Alexander's army vary greatly from version to version. So great is the confusion that even the various mss of the β group disagree with one another. Naturally in the *Rimada* the situation is complicated by a further factor—the pressures of metre and rhyme. So there is no absolute identity of numbers between the *Rimada* and any other version. However the categories of the army mentioned agree with those of A more than any other version. To treat them individually:
1) 500,000 «inherited» troops is obviously wrong. Under the category of Macedonian infantry A mentions 72,000 and Val. 15,000.
2) 7,000 «escorts» probably correspond to the *auxiliaque diversa in octo milibus* of Val. and perhaps to the «auxiliary of 800» of Arm.
3) 7,000 allies—allies are mentioned by A but no number is given. 7,000 is exactly the same figure as is mentioned by the historian Diodorus Siculus XVII 17.3.
4) 60,000 foreigners is again an exaggeration; it corresponds to the 800 Thracians, Paphlagonians and Scyths of A (cf. Val.) and the «7,600 Thracians, Plinthians, and Scythians» of Arm.
5) 1,700 Macedonian horses is for A's 2,000 Macedonian cavalry and the 2,700 which Arm. and Val. record.

492. In A the figure is 70 talents which Ausfeld (*op. cit.* pp. 44,134) believed to be a correction extracted from a historical source. In β the gold is not mentioned until later, after the preparation of the fleet (I 28), and the figure there is 50,000 talents. The *Rimada's* «500 quintals» would seem to correspond better with the latter, except that χηντηνάρι is always used elsewhere in the *Rimada* (lines 507, 2542, 2870) as an equivalent for one talent, not 100 talents. So the *Rimada's* figure is perhaps best seen as a corruption of A, there being little difference between the written forms of the numerals ο' and φ'.

495. Ἀκατὸ κάτεργα: no figure is specified by the ps-Call.

496. «The East» is in fact Thrace in A and β.

499. Λακεδαιμονία: a substitution of the familiar for the unknown. A has Λυκαονίαν.

500. κάμνει καὶ στρατεία: presumably the meaning is «he enlists troops also». Kroll's reading is συνθύσας τοῖς ἐκεῖ στρατηγοῖς, which is based on a certain correction of the ms reading συνθήσας. The *Rimada* seems to be translating the corrupt form, if, at least, this is not to attribute to the poet too much concern for fidelity to his model.

502. ἐδούλεσε: three possible explanations suggest themselves for this peculiar form: 1) a by-form δουλαίνω on the analogy of other verbs in -αίνω; 2) a confusion of the aorists ἐδούλωσε and ἐδούλευσε; 3) a simple misprint for ἐδούλωσε.

503-4. Πούλια: (Appulia) is used to refer to the whole of Italy by metonymy.

510. The reference to the bravery of the Iberians derives from a confusion of ἀδρανεία (A and β) with the more familiar ἀνδρεία. That such a confusion could easily occur is illustrated by the fact that ms B reads ἀνδρείας.

515. Ἀμμωνίκη: derives from Ἀμμωνιακὴ (β) where A reads simply εἰς Ἄμμωνα.

519. εἰς τὴν Φωκίδα νήσου: cf. εἰς τὴν Φαρίτιδα νῆσον (A), Πρωτηίδα (β). The genitive νήσου is forced by the rhyme.

523. Μέσα σ' αὐτεῖνον does not follow on well from στὸν Ἄμμωνα. The suspicion is aroused that line 518 ought to precede 523 immediately, thereby providing ναὸν as an antecedent for αὐτεῖνον. This would involve moving the couplet 517-8 to come after 522. Later on, however, the god and the temple seem to be regarded as interchangeable (lines 529-530 and 579). In view of this, the order of lines has not been disturbed. Ἄμμων must be understood as meaning both «the

god Ammon» and «the temple of Ammon», just as in MG ὁ Ἅγιος Παῦλος can refer either to St. Paul or St. Paul's Church.

524. τὄλεγε: by crasis from τοῦ ἔλεγε rather than aphaeresis from τὸ ἔλεγε.

535-6. The sudden switch from indirect to direct speech is caused by the fact that κάμῃ, and not κάμῃς, was required for the rhyme. Ἀλέξανδρον should perhaps be emended to the vocative, unless the corruption is more extensive. A and β read: κτίζε πόλιν περίφημον...

546. In the ps-Call. Alexander remarks «Ἄνθρωπε, παράτονόν σοι ἐγένετο» (γέγονεν - β), and for this reason the place was called Παρατόνιον (in reality Παραιτόνιον). The corrupted form of the *Rimada*, Πλατόνι, is almost as felicitous since the word denotes a type of wild-deer (see Du Cange and Meursius). It also occurs in Thes. 3606, and is apparently still in use (Synchr. Lex.). Vlachogiannis, in his Glossary to the «Memoirs» of Makrygiannis defines it as: εἶδος ζαρκαδιοῦ ἢ ἐλαφιοῦ μὲ πλατιὰ κέρατα.

548. The tomb of Osiris. The name of the place is given as Ταφώσιρις (A) or Ταφοσίριον (β, γ, λ).

549-550. From a syntactic point of view the couplet is a complete muddle, no doubt because of compression forced by the metre. What the author wanted to say is probably: Ἦλθε σ' ἕνα φοβερὸ ποτάμι στὸ ὁποῖο πηγαίνουν δώδεκα ἄλλα ποτάμια... (For the use of εἰς with the indeclinable relative pronoun, cf. Achill. 1156 'ς ὁποῦ) The peculiar thing is that this is rather different from what the ps-Call. actually says: ὁρᾷ μέγιστον χώρημα εἰς ἄπειρον ἐκτεῖνον καὶ ις' κώμαις συνεχόμενον... αἱ δὲ ις' κῶμαι εἶχον ποταμοὺς ιβ' ἐξερευγομένους εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν... (A similarly β). The couplet 549-50 is highly reminiscent of Choumnos ms 340-1:

> Βλέπει ποτάμιν φοβερὸν κ' εἰς τέσσαρα μοιράζει,
> πάσα ποτάμιν ξέχωρα τὸν δρόμον του ἀνακράζει.

It seems probable that the poet of the *Rimada* had this couplet in mind, and tried rather unsuccessfully to imitate it (see Introd. p. 59).

551-2. It is possible, but by no means certain, that this couplet is based

on A (Kroll p. 29. 1-3 καὶ μέχρι νῦν... θάλατταν) in which case κενωμένα should perhaps be read («drained»). But a simple emendation would be a futile and pointless gesture in the face of the overall confusion of this passage. In any case the word κινημένα may well be part of another borrowing from Choumnos (see Introd. p. 59).

565. Θέμβονος: a corruption of Ἀγαθοδαίμονος.

567-8. The proper names in this couplet appear in various forms in the different versions of the ps-Call. Μηδίου is the same form as Byz. has, while A reads Μενδησίου and β Βενδιδείου. Ἀριλογχίου derives from the Εὐρυλόχου of A and Byz. which appears in various corrupted forms in the β mss.

571-2. In the editions and Codex the crucial part of the couplet reads: γιὰ νὰ κτιστῇ μ' ἀγκῶνας τὴν πόλιν...The anacoluthon might be corrected by writing ἡ πόλις. However, the real problem of the inherited version of this couplet lies in the first line: ἀγκῶνας might mean «consoles» (projecting or supporting stones or brackets), which is one meaning of the Latin *ancon* (which derives from ἀγκών); cf. MG ἀγκωνάρια «corner-stones»; or it might have the original Greek meaning of «anything bent» - «angles». But neither meaning is appropriate here since the passage refers to the buildings of water channels or sewers. At some undetermined stage in the transmission process from AG prose to MG verse corruption has set in. The simplest emendation is αὐλῶνας: «channels», which restores the meaning of the passage and uses a perfectly good Greek word (see LSJ). Since the corruption seems to be located in the first line of the couplet, it is logical to seek to restore the syntax in that line rather than the following one. Hence the second half of line 571 may be emended: νὰ κτίσῃς μὲ αὐλῶνας. Precisely when and how the corruption took place is open to argument; it may have occurred via the intermediate stage of ἀγκλῶνας, a form of ἀγκῶνας mentioned by Du Cange; perhaps the ms used by the editor of the printed edition was barely legible; it is even possible that after the composing stage the half-line fell out of the «form» and was restored by guesswork when the ms was no longer available.

576 ff. Φέρον: is of course Pharos, and Τρωὸς is a corruption of Πρωτέως. In A Alexander actually goes to the island and sacrifices to the gop

and then gives orders for the restoration of the tomb when he sees its dilapidated state.

588. In the ps-Call. the equivalent passage is, «... those born in it (the city) will be everywhere». The distortion is brought about by the pressure of rhyme.

595-6. Although the ps-Call. has nothing which corresponds exactly to this couplet A reads: θεμελιώσας δὲ τὰ πλεῖστα τῆς πόλεως μέρη καὶ χωρογραφήσας... (and similarly β).

601ff. The sentence which the five letters represent is: Ἀλέξανδρος βασιλεύς, γένος Διός, ἔκτισε πόλιν ἀείμνηστον (A - ἀμίμητον β); βασιλεύς: has been transformed into βασιλεία by the poet for the sake of rhyme, but otherwise there is remarkably little change.

603. Δία: this correction, for the διὰ of ms and editions, is certain since it improves the metre and also receives some support from the reading of P: τοῦ Διὸς θεοῦ. A nominative Δίας, formed from AG accusative Δία, occurs several times in Zinos' *Batrachomyomachia*, 279, 429, 447. The gen. Δία is a natural extension of this metaplasm, though it is not, apparently, found except here.

604 ἐπόκτισεν: from ἀποκτίζω, «finish building».

605-608. What is a very lengthy and somewhat complicated chapter in the ps-Call. — it is even longer in A than in β — is reduced to four lines. P corresponds almost exactly to the *Rimada*: ἐζήτησε δὲ ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος νὰ ἰδῆ τὸν ναὸν τοῦ Σεραμίδος (sic) τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ εἶδεν αὐτὸν καὶ προσ[σ]εκύνησεν και ἐθυσίασε. This is one of the most striking similarities between these two modern Greek versions. Clearly they derive from a common ancestor which severely abbreviated this chapter either because of a lacuna in its model, or deliberately because the chapter was felt to be too complex for the audience the scribe had in mind, and in any case dispensable as far as the narrative was concerned.

606. Σοβραπίδη: corrupted from Σάραπις or Σέραπις. The *Rimada* has retained the π (despite its corruption of the first syllable) which in

P has become μ (see above). This is a further indication—if any more were needed—that the *Rimada*, is not descended directly from P, but that the two parted company at an earlier stage.

609. στὴν Αἴγυπτον: Alexandria was not generally reckoned as part of Egypt, but of Libya inasmuch as it lay on the left bank of the Nile (Ausfeld p.141).

614. Φαγίστου: corrupted from Ἡφαίστου. In this case P provides the intermediate stage of the corruption: Φαΐστου.

632. μὲ καθαρὴ καρδία: the phrase, a typical line-filler, recurs at lines 747 and 865. It is also found in Def. Sus. 287, and elsewhere.

647. ἔρχουνμου: this peculiar-looking form of the first person sing. medio-passive impf. has not been discovered in any other text. There are, however, similar forms in the *Theseid* e.g. ἐδυνόνμου, ἐγινόνμου, ἐδεόνμου, ἀναθρεφόνμου, ἐμέφονμου.

665. τού 'δ': του εἶδε.
ὀνεῖρο: the barbaric shift of accent is due to a confusion of the acc. and dat. cases, as well as to metrical convenience (for other examples see Introd. p. 65). In the present case the confusion could have been assisted by the existence of the virtually synonymous phrases εἶδεν ἐν ὀνείρῳ and εἶδεν ἐν' ὄνειρο.

676. σφύρα: (and later σφυρὶ - 685, 757) for σφαίρα — an extraordinary error. There is no doubt that «ball», and not «hammer», is what the poet understood by the words, as the context shows—e.g. line 685. The confusion seems to be attributable to the poet's ignorance, but the possibility cannot be excluded that some particular local usage lies behind it. The ματσούκι is added by the *Rimada* merely to complete the metre and rhyme. It will be noted that it is not mentioned again.

686. ν' ἀποκρατῆ ⟨ἡ⟩ πνοή σου: «that you may continue to breathe». For the phrase cf. Choumnos ms 815-6:

Μόνον μὲ χόρτον καὶ νερὸν διαβάζω τὴν ζωήν μου
καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν παραμικρὸν ἀποκρατεῖ ⟨ἡ⟩ πνοή μου.

(See Megas' review of Marshall's *Old Testament Legends* in *BNJ* 7, 1930, p. 215). The verb ἐπαρκατῶ, used intransitively, seems to mean «be sustained», «continue with difficulty» cf. Choumnos ms 562:

σ' αὐτὴν τὴν γνώμην καὶ 'Αβραὰμ καμπόσον ἐποκράτει,

where the meaning is «he continued for some time in this belief» (see Hist. Lex. s.v. 4).

691. νὰ παίζῃς στὸ τσουγκάνι: the phrase occurs somewhat earlier in P (equivalent to line 685) and in the form (σφαίραν) νὰ τὴν παίζῃς εἰς τὸ τζουκάνιν. Polo was a popular sport of the Byzantine Emperors: it appears to have been made fashionable by Theodosius II (L. Bre-hier, *La civilisation byzantine*, Paris, 1970, p. 62 and Ph. Koukoules, *Βυζαντινῶν βίος καὶ πολιτισμός*, Γ', Athens, 1949, p. 139f. [= *ΕΕΒΣ* 13, 1937, 114]) and a *tzykanisterion* was built in Constantinople by the same emperor (Koukoules *op. cit.* p. 140) or by Theophilus (H.W. Haussig, *Kulturgeschichte von Byzanz*, Stuttgart, 1959, p. 191). The game continued to be played until the last days of the Empire (Haussig *loc. cit.*, Koukoules *loc. cit.*) so that its mention here in the modern Greek versions of the Alexander Romance can scarcely be used as evidence for their dating.

709. For this line which does not derive from anything in the ps-Call. compare 1797-8:

'Ολπίζω πρῶτον στοὺς θεούς, στὴν ἀνεξικακιά μας,
δεύτερον στὴν ἀγάπην μας κ' εἰς τὴν ὁμόνοιά μας.

There again there is nothing comparable in the ps-Call. line 709, with its isolated πρῶτα, seems to have been extracted from the fuller form which 1797-8 preserves. The couplet has the ring of the common-place about it, so it is highly probable that it is not the original creation of the present poet but a common device of the popular poetry of his time.

731. βασιλῆ: accusative; under the influence of dat. βασιλεῖ and pl. βασιλεῖς a nominative βασιλῆς is formed. This acc. is also found at line 2538 and in Def. Log. Did. 211. Compare γονή, *ibid.* 121 and see Karaiskaki's note *ad loc.* and MNE II 18, 30.

738. No parallel passage to this line exists in the ps-Call. It is to be trans-

lated: «Therefore you deserve death and are destined for the slaughter», taking τ' ὁποῖον as equivalent to γιὰ τὸν ὁποῖον λόγον. This is odd, but it seems to be the only possible interpretation, not only here but also at line 2508. Apart from this, an interesting parallel to the line occurs in Erot. II 1243:

"Ολοι 'ν αὐτοὶ τοῦ μακελειοῦ, στὸ θάνατο γυρίζου.

746. ὁποῖο: another loose usage of the relative pronoun. Here it is perhaps equivalent to μέσα στὸ ὁποῖο. This and the previous example merely go to show that ὁ ὁποῖος was not properly understood by those unversed in the formal Atticistic language, who believed that its indiscriminate use would confer some magical stylistic elegance on their writings.

763. The ambassadors are in fact those of Darius who came to Alexander earlier (v. 674) as also appears from line 725.

774. τὸ σταύρωμα: this derives from a misreading of τὸν Ταῦρον. For the unfamiliar geographical name the poet, or an earlier copyist of the prose model, has substituted the more familiar σταύρωμα.

801-2. In P Darius threatens to extract from the satraps repayment for any damage done by Alexander: γινώσκετε ὅτι τὸ ὅσον θέλει χαθῆν ἀπὸ τὸν κόσμον μου ἐσᾶς θέλω πιάσειν. This should clearly be the point in the *Rimada* too, as the following διότις indicates. Perhaps, therefore, 802 should be emended to θέλετε μοῦ πληρώσει.

806. The line could perhaps be improved by means of one or two small changes: νά 'λθω ἀτός μου (cf. P γράφετε νὰ ἔλθω ἀτός μου), γράφετε, θέλτε νὰ κτλ. For the form θέλτε cf. Sklav. 147.

809. Κάθεστε, ἀναπεύεστε: these words can only be taken as imperatives in the present context: «Sit tight, and leave everything to me». But in P the corresponding passage (which, incidentally, occurs slightly earlier, before the equivalent of line 806) is in the indicative mood: καθέζεσθε ἀμέριμνοι καὶ ἀφήκατε ἕναν ἄνθρωπον ληστὴν καὶ περιπατεῖ καὶ ἀφανίζει τὰς χώρας μου. It seems that the poet has not understood the point of his prose model, and for this reason the text of the *Rimada* is confused and garbled throughout this letter. Therefore

the improvements suggested above (802, 806) have not been embodied in the text itself.

817. καί: the reading of the editions and ms destroys the sense and it is very unlikely that it was written by the poet (cf. P. λανθάνει σε, 'Αλέξανδρε). The corruption probably crept in from the following couplet.

825. τί ἔναι τὸ γυρεύεις: for the phrase cf. Choumnos M VII 50 (ms 706): καὶ τί 'ναι τὸ γυρεύεις;

833. δρεπανοάμαξα: ἅρματα δρεπανήφορα. See Xen. *Anab.* 1, 7, 10, etc.

834. τὰ εἶχασι βαλμένα: the phrase also occurs, at the same point in the line, at Def. Sus. 62.

835-6. As the couplet appears in the editions it is ungrammatical and unintelligible. A comparison with what P has is profitable: ἡρμάτωσαν τὰς καρούχας αὐτῶν δρεπάνια γύρωθεν καὶ ἔστησαν αὐτὰ εἰς τόπον ἐπιτήδειον ἵνα ὅταν φθάσῃ ὁ 'Αλέξανδρος νὰ τὰ ἀπολύσουν ἐπάνω του καὶ εἰς τοὺς Μακεδόνας. Line 836 is abstracted from this almost *verbatim*, but the poet needs a rhyme for Μακεδόνας. He fishes around for a suitable proper noun and hits upon 'Αμαζόνους. This necessitates the alteration of Μακεδόνας to Μακεδόνους but this does not disturb the poet greatly as he has already used the nom. form Μακεδόνοι in order to «improve» a rhyme (line 791). This done he proceeds to complete the couplet with scant regard for grammar or sense. Of course line 835 could be «emended» in various ways to remove these deficiencies e.g. Κι ὀρδινιασμένους εἶχασι σ' αὐτὰ (sc. τὰ δραπανοάμαξα) τοὺς 'Αμαζόνους, or Κι ὀρδινιασμένοι ἦσασι ὡσὰν τοὺς 'Αμαζόνους. But to apply such conjectures to the text is to do the poet's job for him, but whith greater feeling for syntactical unity than he could muster. That he was inept scarcely requires proving, so to attempt to remove his ineptitudes in the absence of positive corroborative evidence is a pointless task.

849. Compare Apokop. 329: κ' ἐδώκασιν τὰ βούκινα καὶ τὰ παιγνίδια ἐπαῖξαν, Thes. 1658: καὶ τότες ἀρχινήσασι τρουμπέτες καὶ παιγνίδια, Belth. 1336: ἐπαῖξαν τὰ παιγνίδια, ὡς εἶχαν κατὰ τάξιν. Achill. 327: καὶ τὰ

παιγνίδια ἔκρουσαν. For other instances of παιγνίδια meaning «musical instruments» cf. Dig. Akr. (O) 139, Belth. 1329, Erot. II 2542, Chron. Turc. p. 75 etc. παιχνίδι is also apparently the usual word in modern Rhodian for a musical instrument (D. W. Phillips, in an unpublished thesis deposited at the Bodleian Library, Oxford). For ἀνακαράδες cf. Belis. (Georg.) 397 and Achel. 736, 2048. Xanthoudidis has an extensive note on the various forms of the word in his Erot. Gloss. s. v. νιάκαρη. Whereas νιάκαρη is only used metaphorically in modern Cretan, in Zakynthos it still preserves its literal meaning cf. Konomos Lex. s.v. ἀνιάκαρα ἢ νιάκαρα (« = εἶδος ξύλινου αὐλοῦ, ποὺ παίζεται στὰ πανηγύρια μὲ τὴν συνοδεία ταμπούρλου...») and Minotou Trag. no. 380 ἀνακαράδες (Glossary: «εἶδος χωριάτικου αὐλοῦ. Τὸ παίζουν στὰ λαϊκὰ πανηγύρια, μπαίνουν ὅμως μὲ αὐτὸ οἱ χωρικοὶ καὶ στὴν πόλη, γιορτάζοντας τὰ ἐκλογικὰ ἐπινίκια»).

861-2. The image was perhaps suggested by 31-2.

870. ἔναν: the emendation is supported by the almost identical line 2590

874. ἐτσάκιζε κονδάρι: the phrase seems to have the technical meaning of «to wield or ply a lance» cf. Koron. p. 8: Ρένταις καὶ τζούστραις ἔπαιζε καὶ τζάκιζε κοντάρια. (But in the aorist the verb has the literal meaning of «break» *ibid.* p. 80 τὸ κοντάρι του τζάκισε). So line 874 may be translated: «Anyone who was a man was wielding a lance there».

891. 'Ο τόπος ἦτον ἄνυδρος: cf. Choumnos ms 1227 Ἦτον ὁ τόπος ἄνυδρος. A curious coincidence — or a conscious reminiscence?

892. στό 'τοιμο: presumably for στὸ ἕτοιμο, «on the verge of», but no other instance of this phrase, which was perhaps a colloquialism, has been discovered.

899-902. With the text as it stands in the editions (and Codex) the point of the argument is lost. It should be the soldiers who complain that they are unequipped for battle now that they have eaten their horses (cf. P: Τινὲς δὲ ἔλεγον· «Τί ἔδοξεν 'Αλεξάνδρῳ ὅτι τὰ ἄλογά μας νὰ σφάξωμε; 'Ιδοὺ μὲν πρὸς τὸ παρὸν ἐχορτάσθημε τροφῆς· ἀλλοτρόπως δὲ νὰ εἴμεθα ἀρμάτωτοι ἐπειδὴ ἄλογα οὐδὲν ἔχομεν νὰ μᾶς σηκώνουν. Πῶς νὰ πολεμήσωμε μετὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν μας;») whereas in the *Rimada* it appears to be Alexander who is complaining (901-2):

Εἶπε τους: «Στρατιῶτες μου, σὲ τοῦτο τί νὰ γένη
πού φάγαμε τὰ ἄλογα ὁπού 'μαστεν χρειασμένοι;»

By reversing the order of the two couplets but retaining the first half-line of each in its original position, and then making a few slight changes in line 901, a more logical order is obtained. However, the passage is still not entirely satisfactory and it is possible that a couplet has been lost before 903, perhaps beginning εἶπε τους· «Στρατιῶτες μου...»

908. The line gives the opposite sense to that required: «Horses are easy to find but where can I get more Macedonians?» Without radical alteration it is not possible to make the line compatible with this meaning, so it seems probable that the versifier had missed the point.

924. The line is hypometric but has been corrected by writing ἀπεράσουσι, since the forms of this verb with ἀ- are almost as common as those without, a number of which in any case follow νὰ or some other word ending in α.

926. Compare Apok. 360: καὶ τὸ νερὸν τ' ἀμέτρητον μᾶς ἔκαμεν κιβούριν

973-4. The sense is much improved by the transposition of θυμάστε and φοβάστε. The emendment is supported by P in which «fear» is also linked with «death»: οὕτως πρέπει νὰ εἶναι οἱ στρατιῶται τολμηροί, καὶ νὰ μηδὲν φοβοῦνται τὸν θάνατον.

984. Here and elsewhere στρατηγὸς is used simply as a metrical variant for στρατιώτης. The poet is unaware of any distinction of meaning between the two. This phenomenon is by no means restricted to the present work, but is common in medieval texts (see Erot. Gloss.).

985. Πήγαινε τὴ δουλειά σου: a colloquial expression, also occuring in the form κάμε τὴ δουλειά σου, which gave rise to καλλειά σου (see Xanthoudidis reviewing Marshall's, *Old Testament Legends, EEBΣ* 3, 1926, pp. 339-340).

991 ff. In the ps-Call. this letter is sent by «the satraps». In the *Rimada* the introduction refers to a singular στρατηγός, the letter begins in the first person singular but at line 995 switches to the plural. On the assumption that the corruption from plural to singular took place in the versified text, the plural has been restored by means of a few simple changes. Even if this assumption cannot be made it is at least certain that the poet came eventually to the realisation that the letter should be in the plural. As the changes required are such slight ones, in either case their incorporation in the text is considered justifiable and necessary. At one point (991) the metre is improved by the change since it permits ἐκάμαν (more demotic than ἔκαμαν and indeed more frequent in the poem) to replace ἔκαμε.

998. ἀπόλιγον ἀπόλιγον: «little by little», «gradually». Compare ἀπόλληγο ἀπόλληγο Portulans p. XIII Preface line 3, and Hist. Lex. s.v. ἀπόλιγο where the doublet ἀπόλιγο ἀπόλιγο is cited. The tendency for the accent of ὀλίγος to shift may also be seen in phrases like ὀλίγον τὸ κατ' ὄλιγον (Poulol. 613) and in ἀπολιγοῦ (Erot. I 383). At Koron. p. 145 the reading ἀπ' ὀλίγον χαλᾶτον must be corrected to ἀπόλιγον, to conform with metre.

1023. The meaning seems to be: «If you had even pitied them as you would your own slaves, (it would not be quite so inhuman)». Thus the sentence is equivalent to a conditional with the apodosis left unstated.

1029. Τοῦτά 'γραψεν: with this double accentuation may be compared line 2141 Ταῦτά 'γραφε and Dig. Akr. (O) 57 τοῦτά 'πασιν, Gad. 69, 91 ταῦτά 'λεγεν, Erot. III 1279 τοῦτά 'λεγεν, Achel. 1276 Ταῦτά πεν, *ibid.* 1400 Ταυτᾶναι etc. Examples are so common that it may be considered the usual practice in verse texts of the sixteenth century and seventeenth century for τοῦτα etc. to take double accentuation (or was only the second accent actually stressed?) when followed by a verb whose initial syllable is an accented vowel. A similar phenomenon may be noted with other words too; see Introd. p. 62.

1031. Φραγκία: a substitution of the familiar for the unfamiliar. The reference should of course be to Phrygia, as too at line 2844. Φραγκία is the usual term for Western Europe in medieval Greek e.g. Chron. Mor. 212, 245, etc.

1041-2. Compare lines 1733-4:

'Εσᾶς νὰ εὕρη μὲ ὑγειὰ γλήγορα ἡ γραφή μου,
γιὰ νά 'στε πάντα τὸ λοιπὸν εἰς τὴν ἐπίσκεψή μου.

1043. δημηγέρτης: it is possible that a proper name lurks behind this word. The author of the letter is named variously Οἰμητάδης (A - for which Ausfeld conjectures Μαδάτης), Notareses (Arm.), Nostadi (Leo) and Νοστάρης (Byz.).

1047. Κοιξάρης: the closest version of the name to this is in Leo — Coxari. Other versions are: Κωμάρξης (A), Kosares (Arm.), 'Οξάρης (Byz.).

1049. Νεανίας: compare Νανίας (A), 'Ανανίας (Byz.), Annias (Arm.). The other versions omit this name. Ausfeld (*op. cit.*, p. 158) thought it might have derived from a misunderstanding of νεανίας («den jungen Sohn des Abulites»). If he is right, then the *Rimada* alone has preserved the correct word.

1070. ν' ἀπαντιέται: the medio-passive form, instead of the normal active, is probably only a convenience adopted for the sake of rhyme and not a living contemporary form.

1085. εἰς περσικὴν τὴν χώρα: i.e. the city of Persepolis, in A called Περσίς.

1094. ποιὸν νὰ προβοδήσουν: sc. δὲν ἤξερε.

1096. In the ps-Call. Ammon is said to be dressed in the usual attire of Hermes, with herald's wand, cloak and Macedonian cap. A similar form to Μακεδόνα, for Μακεδονία, occurs in version G of the late-Byzantine Alexander Romance (ed. Mitsakis 273.20, ἀπὸ τὴν Μακιδόνα). With this evidence, Μακεδόνα must be considered not simply as a crude malformation employed for the sake of rhyme by the poet, but as a secondary form, probably influenced by the accentuation of the Italian form *Macedonia*.

1107. Ἕρμηλον: Alexander's companion is called Εὔμηλος in the Greek versions of the ps-Call., and Melteos in Arm. P conforms with the other Greek mss, but B alone has Ἕρμηλον whenever the name occurs. In the *Rimada* the nominative form of the name is Ὅρμηλος, from ὁ Ἕρμηλος (1110, 1193).

1108. Στράγγαλον: the correct name of the river is Strangas. Perhaps the form Στράγγαλος or Στραγγάλης (as at line 1223) is due to a popular etymology with the verb στραγγαλίζω, because the pursuing Persians were drowned in it.

1115-6. There seems to have been a basic formula in poetry of this period for asking the identity and business of a stranger. This generally employed ὁδεύεις and γυρεύεις as rhyme words and could be adapted to suit the particular context. Examples are:
Apokop. 77-8:

> Λέγουν μου: «Πόθεν καὶ ἀπὸ ποῦ; Τίς εἶσαι; Τί γυρεύεις;
> Καὶ δίχως πρόβοδον ἐδῶ στὸ σκότος πῶς ὁδεύεις;»

Choumnos ms 705-6:

> Εἰπέ μου πόθεν καὶ ἀπὸ ποῦ; Ποιὸς εἶσαι καὶ πόθεν ὁδεύεις
> τῆς Παλαιστίνης ἐμπασάν, καὶ τί 'ναι τὸ γυρεύγεις;

Dem. Byz. Asma 138:

> Τίς εἶσαι; πόθεν ἔφθασες; τί θέλεις; τί γυρεύεις;

Other examples could no doubt be found. In the present work lines 1127-8 below may also be compared.

1130. ποῦ; not «where», but «when» in the ps-Call. The change in the *Rimada* is not due solely to the constraint of metre, because P reads: Μηνεῖ σε ὁ 'Αλέξανδρος εἰς ποῖον τόπον θέλομε ποιήσει τὸν πόλεμον.

1133-4. This couplet is an exact repetition of 419-420, except that ἐτρώθη has been replaced by τὰ τρώθη.

1148 ff. The list of guests is given by A, Arm., Byz. and P. Needless to say, such a lengthy catalogue of unfamiliar names has not survived the processes of transmission without considerable corruption. Nonetheless it is possible to identify all the 8 names listed by the *Rimada* with their counterparts in the other versions. They are as follows: 'Οξιδέρης - 'Οξυάθρης (A), Oxydarkes (Arm.), 'Οξύδαρχος (Byz.), 'Αλέξανδρος (P - presumably a copyist's error); Κουσατράπης - Ὦχος σατράπης (A, ex. corr.), Ochos (Arm.), Δίοχος (Byz.), Διθράκης (P); 'Εθεράπης - Μιθριδάτης (A, corrected from μιθριάδης), Mithridates (Arm.), Μιθριδάτης (Byz.), Θυράτης (P); Καυδάλης - Κανδαύλης (A. Arm., Byz.), Καδαύλης (P); Κυβιέρης - Πολυάρης (A), Pauliadres (Arm.), Πολύαρχος (Byz.), Λιάνδρης (P); 'Ονυφατὸς - 'Ορνίφατος (A), Arniphatos (Arm.), 'Ορνιφάτης (Byz.), 'Ορυφάτης (P); Σουβλάκης - Σοβαρίτης (A), Σουλβάτης (Byz.), Σερβάτης (P); 'Αλκιδέως - Δελεάλκιδες (A), Alkides (Arm.), 'Αλκίδης (Byz.), 'Αχηδηναίος (P). In most cases the forms of the names in the *Rimada* are surprisingly close to those of A. There is not, as might have been expected, very close agreement between P and the *Rimada* except in one respect: the

number of names, eight, is exactly the same, whereas the other three versions add four other names, making a total of twelve (Arm. has five additional names but omits one of the eight).

1168. νὰ πιῇ: see Introd. p. 63.

1173. Παρισάρης: his name appears variously as Παρασάγγης (A and Arm.— in the former corrected from the ms reading ἀσαργάς), Pasarges (Val.), Παραγάγης (β, with a number of ms variants), Παράγης (γ), Παρασάπης (Byz.) and Παρεισαγῆς (P). Apart from one letter and accentuation, P's reading is phonetically identical with the *Rimada's*. In fact the word is a Persian common noun meaning «ambassador» (see Ausfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 161).

1180. ἀπιλόγιασε: «dismissed»; for this usage of ἀπιλογιάζω cf. Chron. Mor. 2968, 6724, Chron. Turc. p. 95, and Erot. IV 1307, and for the similar form ἀπολογιάζω cf. Mach. 26[15], 210[33], etc., Choumnos ms 509. For the development of this meaning from that of «answer» and for further examples see Erot. Gloss. s.v.

1181. τότε βγαίνει: the rhyme and syntactical flow might be improved if τότ' ἐξέβη were to be written. But, on the other hand, half-rhymes of the type βγαίνει - φεύγει occur not infrequently in the poem and do not appear to have disturbed the poet particularly (see Introd. p. 92) and besides there is no consistency as to the tense used in narrative. Since, also, the suggested emendment does not completely heal the rhyme, it has been considered advisable to leave the text undisturbed.

1198. πέντε χιλιάδες κ' εἴκοσι: the figures is 120,000 in the ps-Call., but in P 124,000.

1200. μὰ ἔχουσιν αἰτία: αἰτία must be taken in the sense of «shortcoming, disadvantage» (Kriaras Lex. s.v. meaning 2) as in Aitol. *Myth.* 1424 (quoted by Kriaras).

1203-4. πόσες... πόσα: the editions (and ms) give Τόσες which probably originated as a misprint: compare P: Πόσες γοῦν μυίες νὰ ἀντισταθοῦν μίαν σφήκαν ἢ πόσα πρόβατα κτλ.

1210. πηδᾶ, καβαλικεύει: a set phrase for mounting a horse. It occurs at Achill. 120, 568; Imb. 98, 101, 110. Flor. 537, 1388, Chron. Mor. H 4829, 5785 and in the plural form πηδοῦν, καβαλικεύουν at Achill. N 356, 618, 1126, 1216, 1460, Achill. O 182, 404, 411, Pol. Tr. 452, Chron. Mor. 1060, 1107, 5146, 5313. Thus there is no doubt that this is one of the stock phrases of oral poetry inherited by the author of the *Rimada*.

1218. Compare with this line 1506. The poet's inability to describe a scene is a common-place is medieval Greek poetry, particularly in the verse romances e.g. Imb. 53-4:

> Τὸ τί νὰ λέγω οὐκ ἠμπορῶ, τὸ τί νὰ γράφω οὐκ ἔχω,
> ἐξαπορεῖ μου ὁ λογισμός, αἱ χεῖρες καὶ ἡ γλῶσσα...

Achill. 69, 96, 778:

> καὶ ποία γλῶσσα δυνηθῇ κατὰ λεπτὸν νὰ γράψῃ...

ibid. 716-7:

> ἐξαπορεῖ μου ὁ λογισμὸς καὶ ὁ νοῦς μου νὰ τὰ γράψω,
> καὶ ἀδυνατεῖ ἡ γλῶσσα μου πῶς νὰ τὰ ἀφηγῆται.

It is interesting to note the confusion between oral and written methods of transmission, particularly in the first example from the *Achilleid*.

1221-2. Both the *Rimada* and P have completely missed the point: as the ps-Call. describes it, Darius turned his scythed chariot about and retreated through the ranks of his own men. The rest of the chariots followed and so the Persians added to the slaughter by mowing down their own infantry. A similar error is committed by Syr.: «Then Alexander's foot soldiers armed with long scythes pursued them and mowed them down like corn in the field» (p. 76); and by Byz.:

> Τὰ πλήθη Μακεδόνων δὲ σὺν τοῖς δρεπανηφόροις
> καὶ τοῖς τὰ βέλη βάλλουσιν, ἐδίωκον τοὺς Πέρσας
> αὐτοὺς καταθερίζοντες ὡς στάχυας ἀρούρας.
> (3640-2)

P seems to omit a sentence, passing straight from the flight of Darius to the arrival at the Strangas river. It is possible that the readings of Syr., Byz. and the *Rimada* all derive from a common corrupted archetype, but more probably it is merely a question of three separate misunderstandings of not very explicit language; A, and presumably its lost Greek relations, read:

δρεπανηφόρων δὲ πολλῶν ἁρμάτων τροχαζόντων
οἱ πεζοὶ ἐθερίζοντο ὥσπερ σῖτος ὑπ' ἀρότρῳ.

1243-4. The couplet is (presumably) a faithful translation of its model (cf. P: ἡ γὰρ τύχη βραχεῖαν ἐὰν λάβη ροπήν, τοὺς ταπεινοὺς ὑπεράνω τῶν νεφελῶν ἀναβιβάζει, καὶ ὅσοι εἶναι πάλιν εἰς ὑψηλὴν τάξιν κάτω εἰς τὸν Ἅδην τοὺς κατεβάζει) but it is also likely that it represents more or less a popular contemporary saying. It is reminiscent, for example, of the opening lines of *Erotokritos*. Xanthoudidis in his commentary gives a number of similar examples from medieval Cretan and other Greek literature; of these the one which is perhaps closest to the present passage is Xenit. 431-3.

Θωρῶ τον τὸν παμψεύτικον (κόσμον) τροχὸς ἔν καὶ γυρίζει,
τοὺς μὲν ἀνάγει σήμερον, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους κατεβάζει,
καὶ τοὺς ἀνάγει σήμερον, πάλιν κλωθογυρίζει.

Compare also Erot. II 2280:

μὰ ἡ μοίρα ἄλλους ψηλὰ πετᾶ, κι ἄλλους στὰ βάθη γέρνει,

and George Aitolos (ed. Banescu) 375:

Ἄλλον ὑψώνει ὁ καιρός, καὶ ἄλλον κατεβάζει.

In the present work the distich is repeated almost identically at lines 1385-6, which reinforces the impression that it was a common contemporary platitude. Several other examples of the «fickleness of fate» theme in popular texts are cited by N. Bees in «Neue Version mittelgriechischer Vulgärtexte aus Handschriften der Meteorenklöster», *Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen* XV, 1912, Zweite Abteilung, 72-3.

1253-5. The *Rimada* agrees with P almost verbatim for this passage; the latter has: ... πῶς ἐπέρασεν εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδαν καὶ τὰ ἔπαθεν διὰ τὴν ἀλαζονείαν του. Ἔχασε καὶ τὰ πράγματα καὶ τὸν λαόν του.

1269. Παρμένιος: Παρμενίων (A, Arm., γ, Byz.), Παρμένιος (majority of β mss.).

1292. γύρου γύρου: according to one view the adverb is derived from the genitive of the noun γύρος (see Erot. Gloss. s.v. γύρου τριγύρου. More probably however is was originally γύρο γύρο from the acc. of γύρος (so Andriotis Lex., who compares δρόμο - δρόμο and τοῖχο - τοῖχο), which then underwent the same change as befell ἀπάνω, κάτω, χάμω,

and adopted the -ου termination on the analogy of other local adverbs such as ὅπου, αὐτοῦ (MNE II, 309). γύρου γύρου is also found at Katsaïtis Kl. II 62.

1315. Στὰς καπηλίας: the «Caspian Gates»; in A, τὰς Κασπίας πύλας, in β and Byz., τὰς Κασπιακὰς πύλας (with ms variants). P also agrees with B. The corruption presented by the *Rimada* may be attributed to one or more of a variety of reasons: a barely legible ms, the geographical ignorance of the poet, metrical necessity, or a false etymology with καπηλεῖον (compare the following verses).

1318. τά 'μισυ: for τὰ ἥμισυ, a solecism for τὸ ἥμισυ or the plural τὰ ἡμίσεα. The form τὰ ἥμισυ is actually found in P and L at this point.

1319. τὸν ἵππον τὸν Βουκέφαλον: Byz. has precisely these words, but there can be no suspicion of direct influence. It merely serves to illustrate the tendency of the «political» metre to write itself.

1321. The subject must be supplied from line 1314: φουσάτο.

1323. Ὡς τ' ἄκουσεν Ἀλέξανδρος: in the ps-Call. it is stated that Alexander received the information from a Persian deserter.

1326. Βατανία: Ecbatana. Various forms of the name are given in the manuscripts, the majority agreeing on ἐν Βατάνοις.

1329. εὔνουχος: he is named as Bagistanes in A (Ausfeld's correction), Gistanes in Arm. and Bazanus in Val. The irregular accentuation of εὔνουχος is to be attributed to poet's lack of education. Had he known the correct form he could easily have rearranged the line to avoid accent violation. The word occurs with the correct accentuation in the Epilogue (33) which, as concluded in the Introd. (p. 43), is certainly not from the hand of the poet himself.

1333. Ἰδών: either this is an undeclined participle («seeing that Alexander was approaching...» cf. β) or else the line is corrupt and cannot be emended with certainty; perhaps Ἰδὼν might conceal Μήδων, or Οἱ δυό, or Ἴδ' οὖν or Ἰδού.

Ἀρνοβαρζάνης: Ἀριοβαρζάνης (VL, and A corrected from Ἀρβαρζά-

νης), 'Αριοβαρζάν (BFKP γ), in reality Nabarzanes (cf. Arrian III 21. 1, Curt. V 9.2). It is possible that 'Αριοβαρζάνης should be read in the *Rimada* (here and line 1457), assuming the corruption to have taken place between the ms of the poem and the printed edition. The form given in line 1355, 'Αρβαζάνιος is very close to the ms reading of A.

1336. ἀπάνω ... πού: «in addition to the fact that»; with this may be compared the use of ἀπάνω εἰς, «in addition to», e.g. Def. Log. Did. 67, Erot. IV 120. This usage is different from ἀπάνω πού in a temporal sense, «while», for which see Hist. Lex. ἀπάνω, A 4 β.

1359-60. It is necessary to invert the second hemistiches in order to make 1360 intelligible. Thus καὶ ἅπλωσε τὸ χέρι του εἰς τὸ κορμὶ corresponds to P's καὶ μὲ τὸ χέριν του ἐσκέπασεν τὸ κορμίν. For ἡ τύχης ... τὸν ἤφερε, «he was fated» — cf. 1382 τύχης τό'φερε, «it was fated» and 2356: ποῦ σὲ ἤφερε τὸ δόλιο ριζικό σου;

1376. στέκει στεκούμενος: the participle intensifies—«stands upright»; cf. Cypr. Erot. 1, 7-8: νὰ πηδήσῃ πάνω πάσκει | καὶ γι' αὐτὸν στέκει στεκόντα.

1378 ff. The weapon most usually associated with Thanatos, or Charos, is of course the sickle e.g. Erot. II 361, Erof. Prol. 2, Penth. Than. 149 etc. Arrows are normally associated with Eros the personification of love e.g. Erot. I 1709, III 317 etc. But in the early sixteenth century at least both Death and Fate (Τύχη) are represented as armed with bows and arrows: Death in the poem Penth. Than. 621-3:

καὶ ὀλίγο ἀπάνω ἂς στέκεται ὁ Χάρος καὶ ἂς βαστάζῃ
τῶν τριῶν λογῶν τὰ ἄρματα, ἐκεῖνα ποὺ μᾶς σφάζει:
τὸ δρέπανον καὶ τὸ σπαθί, δοξάρι μὲ σαγίτες

and 217-8:

νὰ βάλῃς κάτω τὸ σπαθί, ν' ἀφήκῃς τὸ δοξάριν,
νὰ ρίξῃς τὲς σαγίτες σου, δὲν θέλομ' ἄλλην χάριν

and Fate in Apokop. 415-8:

Ἡ τύχη τὸ δοξάριν της ἐνάντιον τὸ ἐχοκκιάσεν,
κ' εὐκαίρεσεν τὴν σπούρδαν της ὥστ' ἀπού τοὺς ἐφτάσεν.
Μὲ τὴν καρδιάν τους ἔποικεν σημάδιν τοῦ δεξιότη
κ' ἔριξεν τὲς σαγίτες της ἀπὸ ὕστερην ὡς πρώτην.

1393-4. Almost exactly the same words are used of Philip's death, lines 453-4.

1408. Logically speaking it ought to be Darius' murderers who are in need of forgiveness, but logic is forced to give way to rhyme.

1415. τόσοι: this is almost certainly what the poet wrote, rather than the τώρα of the editions and ms which derives from the previous line. It is supported by the reading of P: καλὸν ἤθελεν εἶσθαι πολλὰ νὰ μηδὲν εἶχαν χαθῆ τόσες μυριάδες Πέρσαι.

1426. «... and let him have no hindrance from anyone»: ἔμποδος is usually feminine in texts of this period (see Glos.).

1433-4. P: Χαρίζω εἰς τοὺς ναοὺς τῶν θεῶν νὰ ἔχουν ἀπὸ τὰ κέρδη τῶν κούρσων· ὁρίζω τοὺς σατράπας ἵνα ποιῶσι τὰς θυσίας ἀνελλιπῶς. A and Arm. (approx.): «With regard to the road-tolls that were customary in Darius' reign, I grant them to the temples of the gods, and particularly to Sarapis and Zeus».

1435-44. P: Ὁρίζω ἵνα λαμβάνῃ ὁ στρατιώτης ἀπὸ τὰ βασιλικὰ ἁρματοφυλάκια, ὅταν ἔλθῃ χρεία, ἅρματα καὶ χαρίσματα βασιλικὰ ὁ καθεὶς δουκάτα χίλια, καὶ οἷος συναπαντηθῇ ἀπὸ Δαρείου μὲ τὸ κοντάρι του, νὰ τὸν στεφανώνουν χρυσὸν στέφανον καὶ ροῦχα δύο βασιλικὰ καὶ ζωνάρι χρυσὸν καὶ κούπας δύο περιχρυσωμένας. Syr. provides the closest correspondence here: «And we command that all youths and men who are in the country of the Persians shall train themselves continually in warlike exercises and arms until we come to them and select from them those that please us. And if there by any one now who is well-trained in horsemanship and arms, weapons shall be given to him out of the armoury of the King, and a war horse, and a beaker of gold worth twelve dinars, each weighing eight mithkals, and five cups of silver, each of them holding what a man can take at a draught and one suit of Persian raiment, and a belt of gold; and he shall be sent to the army. And if there by any one of them who is trained in war and who has made himself a famous name, there shall be given to him a Persian crown of gold, and a suit of white raiment, and two cups of gold, and one hundred darics and seventy staters» (Budge p. 83). The last item on the list, which corresponds to 1443-4, is not found in P. From Syr. these regulations appear to refer to the setting

up of a Persian militia; in A and Arm., however, the various gifts mentioned are prizes offered to contestants in the games to be celebrated in honour of Alexander's birthday; there is nothing corresponding to lines 1435-6; a golden bowl weighing 1,200 staters (1,000 staters according to Ausfeld's emendation of the corrupt passage in A) is the prize for the war-chariot (= line 1438); the crown, belt, raiment and cups are for him «who has succeeded and won» (= lines 1439-42); and 180 staters (109 A, amended to 170 by Kroll to agree with Syr.) is the weight of the cups mentioned above (= 1443-4).

1439. εἴτις ἐκεῖνος: for the phrase cf. ὅποιος ἐκεινος, Choumnos ms 2661 which also occurs at lines 1622 and 1634 of the present work.

1441. δύο γενὲς βαμμένες: to judge from the reading of P (ροῦχα δύο βασιλικά), γενὲς must be understood as some kind of garment, but the word has not been found elsewhere nor can its etymology be determined with any certainty. The text may be corrupt: perhaps the correct reading was γοῦνες «fur-trimmed garment» (see Sophocles Lex.). Another possibility is a connection with χινέα = «henna» cf. Dig. Akr. (E) 1487 μὲ τὴν χινέαν βαμμένα (cf. Achill. 1120, Lib. P 1762, E 2138) with a metonomy similar to that by which πορφύρα comes to mean «a purple robe». It is however possible that the word is not Greek but oriental. There is a Turkish word *yen* meaning «sleeve, cuff», but one hesitates to link this with γενὴ in the absence of further evidence. (I am grateful to Dr. S. Brock of Cambridge for this information and for investigating other possible sources in oriental languages).

1445-6. P: καὶ εἴτις ἔχει ὑπόθεσιν μὲ τινὰν νὰ ὑπαγαίνῃ εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον τὸ κοινὸν καὶ νὰ λύεται ἡ ὑπόθεσις. A and Arm: «I wish that no one of you be your own judge when any of you has some charge against another, nor in any matter whatsoever, especially when it concerns capital charges.» Similarly Syr.

1445. σ' ἐκεῖνον: it is possible that the line read originally 'ς κοινὸν νὰ ὑπαγαίνῃ or something similar. But it is not impossible that ἐκεῖνον could refer to Alexander, as he speaks of himself in the third person elsewhere (lines 1422, 1448); accordingly the text has not beent emended.

1447-8. P: Καὶ οἷος εὑρεθῇ νὰ μηδὲν πείθεται, νὰ ἔχῃ κεφαλικὴν τιμωρίαν. In A and Arm. this takes the form of a ban on assembly, other than in the official council.

1477. στέκουν: in order to correct the rhyme this should perhaps be amended to στένουν.

1488. Either the line must be considered as hypermetric or, if the final syllable of ἔντιμα is elided, there is no caesura, as always elsewhere.

1522. An interesting parallel is provided by Chron. Turc. p. 32: τοὺς ἐβάλανε 'ς τὴν μέση καὶ ἐκόψανε ὅλους καὶ δὲν ἐγλύτωσε μηδὲ ἕνας.

1538. ἐπῆγα μὲ or ἐπήγαμε? The printed editions are, of course, no help in deciding problems of word division. On the whole the former seems preferable as it postpones the change of number to the beginning of a new couplet and a new chapter. If ἐπήγαμε were chosen ⟨'ς⟩ στρατεία would have to be read, as at line 11.

1551. βδομάδι: the diminutive of ἑβδομάδα is not witnessed elsewhere in written texts but in the Rhodian dialect a gen. pl. βδομαδιῶ(ν), originally from a dimin., is apparently still to be heard (D. W. Phillips, unpublished thesis in Bodleian Library).

1555. Σφοντύλους: φοντίχους (P), φυτοὶ (FLλ), κατάφυτοι (Arm. - Raabe). According to Zacher and Meusel the original reading was πίθηκοι.

1586. νὰ μὴ δῆ: the μὴ is superfluous and reveals a looseness of thought, which is characteristic of the style of the poem.

1594. σὰν ἐκεινούς: again the syntax is confused; it is as if τὰ ἄστρα has become the subject of the sentence. What is in fact needed is ἔτσι ἐκεῖνοι.

1601. The reason for their death is given by the ps-Call. as lack of food.

1607. σὰν μόσχος ἐμυρίζα: the «tears» resembled musk according to P too (ἐμύριζαν ὥσπερ μόσχος). In β and Arm. they are compared to Persian myrrh or incense: Περσικὴ στακτή. (P gives this, in the form, ὡς περσικῆς, probably taken from his secondary ms, in addition to the reading mentioned above).

1655. Compare the description of the crabs in Batrach. 450-1:
'Οπίσω εἰς τὲς πλάτες τους εἶχασι τὸ κεφάλι.
Εἶχασι καὶ τὰ μάτια τους στὰ στήθη, ποὺ θωροῦσαν.

1664. μὲ βιὰ πολλὴ καὶ κόπον: a typical ready-made phrase, often employed to rhyme with τόπον; cf. line 1540 μὲ βιὲς πολλὲς καὶ κόπους, and Apokop. 37 μὲ βιὰν πολλὴν καὶ κόπον.

1671. ἐξ ἐμᾶς: «some of us» cf. line 2009, etc.

1679. κολύμπου: «swimming». This originates from AG κόλυμβος, properly «a swimmer», but later «swimming» (see LSJ). The dative of this, κολύμβῳ, was used adverbially as here in β, and from this developed κολύμβου or κολύμπου, probably by analogy with other adverbs in -ου e.g. ὅπου, αὐτοῦ. Elsewhere in medieval Greek κολύμπου occurs in Thes. I 68.5, Cacav. 19 a 14, Koron. p. 43 and p. 96 (κολύμβου), and Achel. 1804. See also Ph. Koukoules, *Νεοελληνικῶν λέξεων καὶ φράσεων παλαιοτέρα μνεία*, Athens, 1956, p. 49. Other apparent adverbial genitives in medieval Greek are ἀρμένου, «under sail» (Thes. I 19. 2), and κύκλου (see Pernot, Achel. p. 176).

1690. νὰ 'δεύῃ: this ought to be in the first person, referring to Alexander himself, but the pressures of rhyme once again prevailed over sense.

1700. ὡσὰν ἡμέρα φωτεινή: in the ps-Call., «like lightning».

1704. τάραχον: ⟨AG τάριχος, «a smoked or dried fish». The form with assimilated α (partly due to the noun τάραχος ⟨ ταράσσω) is found in MG ἀβγοτάραχον (see Kriaras Lex. and Andriotis Lex.) and the reading of ms V here is τάραχον.

1703 ff. (and 1729-32). The story of Andreas the cook who found and lost the water of life. A reminiscence of this is found in Dig. Akr. (A) 2324 ff. and (T) 1460 ff. (see Mavrogordato note on Dig. Akr. (G) 2035).

1741-2. «Admittedly that Darius fellow demanded tribute from us; well, we repaid him with an arrow in the heart.» We concede that the purpose of the expedition was to punish Darius, but now that is all over ... so why are you dragging us off to fight Porus who has done us no harm?

1778. ἄκτιστος: the corresponding word in the ps-Call. is ἀήττητος (A and β) or ἀνίκητος (Pap. Hamb. 129). Possibly ἄκτιστος was understood as virtually synonymous with these in the sixteenth century. The original meaning is the theological one of «uncreated» and therefore «ageless, eternal». See Kriaras Lex.

1781. Διονύσιος: an amusing error for Dionysus, which aptly demonstrates the versifier's ignorance of the classical world cf. Φραγκιὰ for Φρυγία (1031, etc.), Φέρος for Φάρος (576), Φάγιστος for Ἥφαιστος (614, etc.).

1795. τῇ διανοίᾳ: «in their own minds»—a biblical phrase cf. Luke I. 51 ὑπερηφάνους διανοίᾳ καρδίας αὐτῶν.

1817. οὐδὲν ποιᾶσαι: apparently a survival of AG περὶ οὐδενὸς ποιεῖσθαί τι

1820. Cf. «Θρῆνος τῆς Κύπρου» (ed. Tzedakis, *Kr. Chron.* 16, 1962, pp. 156-74) v. 933:
οὐδὲ στὸν νοῦν μου βάνω το, οὐδὲ στὸν λογισμόν μου.
ἐθυμοῦμαι represents the intermediate stage in the development of θυμοῦμαι ⟨ AG ἐνθυμοῦμαι. It is *not* an example of a syllabic augment mistakenly attached to a primary tense.

1833. According to the ps-Call. Alexander dressed as an ordinary soldier sent to buy provisions.

1843. Εἶδε με ὀφθαλμός σου: This clause is most unsatisfactory from many points of view. A reasonable correction would be 'Ἰδὲ μὲ ὀφθαλμό σου, if it were not for the fact that the only forms of the aor. imp. of βλέπω used in the poem are δὲς and ἔδ(ε).

1851. Χυτοὺς ἀνθρώπους: «cast men»—not quite what the ps-Call. says: bronze statues were heated and then by means of iron tools moved into battle at the head of the army.
κάρβουνα τοὺς γεμίζει: only Eth. mentions that fuel was put inside the statues: «... the soldiers filled them inside with wood and set it on fire» (Budge p. 120).

1861. Compare v. 874:

κι ὁπού 'τον ἄνδρας ἔδεκεῖ ἐτσάκιζε κονδάρι.

1880. For the phrase δίνω μιὰ κονταριὰ cf. Erot. II 1399:

Ἤδωκε τοῦ Ρωτόκριτου μιὰν κονταρὰ στ' ἀμμάτια,

Batrach. 338-9:

καὶ πρῶτος τοῦ Λειχήνορα ἔδωσε κονταρία,
εἰς τὰ συκωτοπλεμόνια ...

Chron. Mor. 1123: νὰ δώσουν κονταρέας.

1885-6. Probably a proverbial distich, though no trace of it has been found elsewhere.

1887-8. This distich appears in various forms. The closest version to the present one is found in a Zakynthian popular saying:

Ὁ λογισμὸς τοῦ κεφαλιοῦ οὖλα τὰ πάντα ὁρίζει
καὶ ὕστερη μετάνοιωση τίποτσι δὲν ἀξίζει [1].

One would like to believe that this is a survival of the same tradition from which the poet of the *Rimada* borrowed the proverb. Although it cannot be excluded that the proverb was invented by the poet and entered the popular stock of gnomic sayings from the *Rimada* this is unlikely in the present case as the essential part of the proverb —the phrase ἡ ξυστερνὴ μετάγνωση—occurs in another work contemporary with the *Rimada*, Defaranas' «Ἱστορία περὶ τῆς Σωσάννης», vv. 83-4:

Αὐτῆνοι δυὸ κακόγεροι δὲν βάνουνε 'ς τὸ νοῦν τους,
'ς τὴν ξυστερνὴν μετάνοησιν νἄχουν στὸν λογισμόν τους.

Essentially the same proverb occurs in *Erot.* III 291:

Τά 'στερα μετανιώματα δὲν ξάζου, θυγατέρα,

and in the Zakynthian proverbs collected by Komoutos (p. 19) there occurs:

Στερνὴ μετάνοιωση, εἴθε νὰ σὲ ἔχω πρῶτα!

Thus the phrase ἡ ξυστερνὴ μετάγνωση, in various forms, is widespread and almost certainly not originated by the versifier of the *Rimada*. He may, however, have been responsible for casting the expression in the particular form in which it is found there.

1895. The reading of the editions and ms, νὰ αἰχμαλωτιστοῦμε, is the

1. Minotou Trag., p. 88 no. 527.

opposite to that required by the sense as comparison with the ps-Call. shows: Ἵνα μὴ καὶ ἡμεῖς αἰχμαλωτισθῶμεν A, ἵνα μὴ αἰχμαλωτισθῶμεν β. Accordingly the text has been emended.

1906. Ἐξηδάρκους: Ὀξυδράκας. (A ex. corr.), Ὀξοδόρκας (LP) and various other variants in the β mss among which that of V (Ὀξυδόρκους) may be noted as agreeing with the *Rimada* as far as declension is concerned. The name is the same as the Ξηδαρκίτες of line 25.

1911. Δραχμάνες: the corruption from Βραχμᾶνες is most probably the result of illegibility somewhere in the course of transmission, with perhaps influence of δραγουμάνος or δραχμή.

1921. στενωσία: a by-form of στένωση «straitened circumstances», not otherwise attested.

1923. One would expect:

Ἂν ἔλθης εἰς ἐμᾶς μὲ ἀγάπη, θὰ σταθοῦμε ...

Textual corruption cannot be excluded.

1927-8. The dialogue between Alexander and the Brahmans runs as follows in the ps-Call.: Q. «Do you not have tombs?» A. «This place where we live is also our tomb...» (more in β). (The meaning is that they consider their bodies as graves).

1929-32. Q. «Are the living or the dead the more numerous?» A. «The dead, but those who no longer exist may not be counted. For the visible are more numerous than the no longer visible.» The *Rimada* is unintelligible in lines 1929-30 and irrelevant in 1931-2.

1933-40. Q. «Which is stronger, life or death?» A. «Life, because the rising sun has stronger rays than when it sets.» Alexander queries the Brahmans' reply (= 1937-8) only in Eth. and Arm.

1941-4. Q. «Which is greater, the land or the sea?» A. «The land, for the sea itself is also founded upon the land.» (A) «... is also held beneath the sea» (β).

1945-52. Q. «Which is the most cunning of all creatures?» A. «Man.»

A. «How so?» A. «Be persuaded of this from yourself; for look how many beasts you, yourself a beast, have with you, that you alone may wrench away the livelihood of other beasts.»

1953-4. Cf. vv. 829-30.

1956. In β the reply is longer: «πλεονεξίας δύναμις ἄδικος, τόλμη καιροῦ συνεργοῦντος, χρυσοῦν φορτίον».

1957-62. Q. «Which came first, night or day?» A. «Night, for what begins in the darkness of the womb is increased; then comes forth to receive the light.»

1965 ff. Like the *Rimada*, the majority of versions of the ps-Call. give the left as «the better side» (Val., Arm., Syr., Eth. and ms V). This is clearly the correct and original version of the reply. But in β (BKL), Byz. and γ the right is said to be better, and the rest of the reply is modified accordingly.

1980. Cf. Erot. IV 615-6:

γιατ' ἔτσι τό 'χει φυσικὸ τσῆ μοίρας τὸ παιγνίδι,
νὰ παίρν' ἀπὸ τὴ μιὰ μερὰ στὴν ἄλλη νὰ τὰ δίδη.

1981. Not «I am among the gods», but «I am a steward to the gods».

1988. Unusually, Cod. Met. gives the more popular forms here: ἀφέντη ... ἄλλονε. This suggests that the passage may be a contemporary popular saying familiar to the scribe, for, as has been indicated above, the *Rimada* is not closely dependent on the ps-Call. here but gives the general meaning of the original by means of a loose paraphrase.

2018. θεριὸν ἐβγῆκε 'κ τὸ νησί: in fact the island *was* the beast, a giant sea-monster. The point has been missed by the author of the *Rimada*, or its prose model.

2042. 'ς χώρά 'ρημ': εἰς χώρα ἔρημη. It was mistaken for a proper name by the scribe of late-Byz. G, who attempted to use the *Rimada* to complete his model, and wrote: καὶ ἐπερπάτησεν δέκα ἡμέρες καὶ ὑπάγει εἰς Σχυράρη... (Mitsakis ed., p. 289, lines 28-9).

2055. ὥρᾳ τρίτῃ: the iota subscripts are not in the early editions, of course, but the phrase must be felt to be an archaic dative of definite time rather than an acc., as in MG, which would require the definite article.

2096. The reading of the editions and ms is δένδρα ὁποὺ καρποῦσι: not a particularly rare phenomenon! What the ps-Call. actually says (as emerges later in the *Rimada* too) is φυτὰ ἀνθρωπιστὶ (ἀνθρωπίνῳ στόματι - β) λαλοῦντα. Accordingly the text of the *Rimada* has been emended. The corruption may have crept in at the printing stage, when a compositor unfamiliar with the story was unable to read the ms before him, or unwilling to accept what he read, and substituted a word which seemed logical to him. καρπῶ for the usual καρπίζω is in any case not recorded elsewhere.

2106 ff. The details of the times of the tree's utterances are altered by the *Rimada*. In the ps-Call., the tree which is called Sun speaks when the sun rises, when it reaches its zenith and when it sets; similarly the Moon tree according to the three corresponding positions of the moon. The poet seems to have dismissed the moon completely, for at line 2121 ἥλιος is mentioned where the ps-Call. refers to the rising of the moon.

2115. 'Ο δραγουμάνος: in the ps-Call. there are several Indians who act as interpreters; in Syr., as here, there is only one.

2127-8. This couplet would appear to be an expansion of περιλύπου δέ μου διακειμένου καὶ δυσφοροῦντος (A, similarly β). The expansion is perhaps due to illegibility in the *Rimada's* ancestral ms of the passage in which Alexander receives the priests' grudging permission to hang garlands on the trees; the gap was compensated for by means of prolixity.

2138. Σεραμίδος: Σεμιράμεως (Αβ - Σεραμέως ms. B).

2141. Ταῦτά 'γραφε: see on line 1029.

2153. Γύρεσε is the reading of the edd. and C, but the mood required by the ps-Call. is not imperative but indicative: ἀνελύσατε εἰς τὴν ἰδίαν πόλιν (A). The unusual change of ι>ε *after* ρ suggests that the text

is not sound; accordingly the emendation to Γύρισες has been adopted.

2175. 'Κατὸ πίθους ὁλόγομους: χρυσᾶς πλίνθους ὁλοσφυρήτους ρ' (A, similarly β).

2178. ψαττάκους ... διακοσίους: ψιττακοὺς σ' (A only). The change of accentuation (guarded by metre) and of the first vowel is inexplicable except on the assumption that the poet was unfamiliar with the word ψιττακός.

2181. βδομήντα: 80 A β.

2182. πάρδους ... σαράντα: 300A, 10β.

2183. 'Ανθρωποφάγους ... ὀκτώ: 90A, 30β.

2185. ἑκατὸν ... ταυρία: 300 A, 30β.

2187. Διακόσια 'λεφάντινα δόντια: 90 A, 300β.

2200. Κανδάκης: could be either gen. or nom. but is probably the latter.

2201. Κανδάλης: Κανδαύλης Aβ.

2205. τῶν Βερβικῶν τὸ ἔθνος: the Bebryces were a tribe which inhabited Bithynia, but had apparently disappeared before historical times (Ausfeld *op. cit.*, p. 191). In the *Rimada* they are called Βερβικοὶ or Βέρβικοι, and are evidently confused with the Berbers (Βέρβεροι).

2208. Candaules was conducted before Ptolemy because Alexander was sleeping at the time (so the ps-Call; on Alexander's habit of sleeping by day, see Ausfeld *ad loc.*).

2254. The state of the text of the first edition needs a little tidying-up: τὴν is required for metrical reasons, and the obvious misprint of the second half of the line (κάπν) may be corrected by comparing v. 2298.

2259 ff. Confusion reigns over the use of the proper names in this and the following chapters: Alexander is referred to both as 'Αντίγονος and as 'Αλέξανδρος, and Ptolemy as Πτολεμαῖος and 'Αλέξανδρος.

2270. Again there is some confusion: as Ptolemy does not go with Alexander to visit Candace, one would expect: αὐτὸς νὰ παγαίνῃ μὲ τὸν Κανδάλη... Perhaps εἰς τὴν Κανδάκη should be read.

2283. μεγάλους σὰν ἀρνία: οὐδὲν ἀποδέοντες τῶν παρ' Ἕλλησιν ἄρκτων (A); τέλειοι ὡς ἄρκοι (β). Metrical reasons have enforced the change from «bears» to «sheep».

2286. The line is taken almost verbatim from the early versions of the ps-Call. (see Introd. p. 27).

2296. The verse is unmetrical and should perhaps be emended to 'Αντίγονού 'τον ἡ βουλή... A simpler change, substituting ἦν for ἦτον, has not been considered as it would introduce a form not elsewhere found in the *Rimada*.

2321-2. «At the two extremes it (the tables ?) was ornamented with dragonstones and in the middle with ivory». δρακοντίων is probably the poet's addition; in the ps-Call. the tables are made merely of ivory, but the text is corrupt and Arm. adds: «and there was offering of work made of torquoise» (Wolohojian p. 136).

2336. χώρια του πολεμάγει: perhaps corrupt, cf. ps-Call.: ὅπου δὲ ἐπορεύετο ὁ βασιλεὺς πόλιν πολεμῆσαι, εἰς αὐτὴν κατέμενεν (A, sim. β). A possible emendation is: χῶρες νὰ πολεμάγῃ.

2357-8. The meaning is probably: «Those who entrust a secret to a friend once or twice always come unstuck the third time». With this may be compared Koron. p. 107:

Τὸν ἄνθρωπον ποὺ μιὰ καὶ δυὸ θέλεις τὸν δοκιμάσει
εἰς πρᾶγμα σου κι αὐτὸς πιστῶς οὐδόλως θέλει δράσει,
ἂν τρίτον τοῦ ἐμπιστευθῆς 'ς αὐτὸ τὸ ἴδιον πρᾶγμα,
πολλὰ ὑπάρχεις ἄγνωστος, κι οὐδὲν γινώσκεις γράμμα.

But there the point is slightly different: «If someone fails you twice, don't try him a third time—learn from your experience.» But the two proverbs do seem to have a common basis, the basic idea being

«Don't push your luck a third time.» A modern saying has the same notion: Μιὰ τοῦ κλέφτη, δυὸ τοῦ κλέφτη, τρίτη καὶ κακή του μέρα (cf. the Cretan μνιὰ τοῦ κλέφτη, δυὸ τοῦ κλέφτη, τρεῖς καὶ κακός του καιρός, Pangalos IV 414). Probably something similar was taken by both the author of the *Rimada* and Koronaios and adapted to suit their metrical form and context. The *Rimada's* distich is particularly unsatisfactory from the point of view of rhyme and syntax, as are several of the *Γνωμικὰ* incorporated by the poet in his work (see Introd. p. 53 ff.).

2377. Ἀρπίσης: Ἄρπισα βγ, Ἄρπησα Byz., Ματέρσα A (corrected by ed. to Μάρπησσα from Leo, Syr.), Marpesga Arm., Margie Val.

2381. The younger son is called variously Karagos (Arm.), Charagos (Val.), Carator (Leo), Kerator (Syr.). No name is given by any of the Greek versions here, but he is later called Θόας in β.

2416. πιβουλή: from AG ἐπιβουλή. The commoner form in medieval texts is πιβουλιά, e.g. Choumnos ms 1936, Erot. I 15, III 236 and in the *Rimada* v. 986. The editor of the edition of 1600 emended to τὴ βουλή, which is tempting too for the modern editor; but πιβουλὴ is the *lectio difficilior*.

2437. ὁ Χούσης: Ὦχος βγ (ὁ χοὺς V), Σεσόγχωσις A.

2438. εἶχα ἐκεῖνα τ' ἄρχεις: ἄρχω is not normally found in MG. Perhaps its presence here derives from an editorial «improvement» of τά 'χεις for the benefit of rhyme.

2456. τὰ Καυκάκια: the Caucasus cf. Byz. τὰ Καυκάσια.

2482. «One cannot travel the circumference of our island within a year».

2488. Τὰ ζῶα μας τηροῦνε: a mistranslation of νεμόμενοι (A and β) which is used in the sense of «dwelling in», not «grazing flocks».

2507-8. «We are women, and if you do battle with us, for the reasons mentioned we do not expect you to defeat us». For this use of τ' ὁποῖο cf. v. 738 and the commentary on that line.

2509-11. Compare Thes. I 105. 6-8:

ἦλθες κι οὐδὲν ἐσκόπησες πῶς πᾶς νὰ πολεμήσης
μὲ κορασίδες τρυφερές· καλὰ κι ἂν τὲς νικήσης,
κατηγοριά σου νὰ γενῆ, καὶ δόξα μὴ κερδίσης.

2567. μετὰ πολλοῦ γὰρ κόπου: a typically superfluous expression, used frequently by inferior versifiers of this time; cf. for example Koron. p. 4 μετὰ πολλοῦ τοῦ κόπου.

2583. καλὰ γεμάτη: i.e. solid gold.

2590. Cf. v. 870.

2592. Θερίζοντα: Θερμώδοντα ps-Call. (but the mss offer many variants)

2605. In A the equivalent of this verse occurs somewhat later, after the sacrifice to Poseidon and before the «Atlas river». It has been moved to this position by the versifier because it suggested to him a rhyme for τόπον.

2613. Ἀντλοῦν: Ἄτλαντα (A), Πράτιον (B), Ἄτλαν (γ), Ἄντλαν (L, and other variants in the β mss). The Atlantic Ocean is meant but it is confused with the Red Sea—geography was not the strong point of the author of the ps-Call.

2616. σκυλοκέφαλοι: corrected from the σκηνοκέφαλοι of the *editio princeps*, though that form also occurs in late-Byz. A p. 331 (σκυνοκέφαλοι). The MG form has been preferred to the AG κυνοκέφαλοι because it is also found in the *Phyllada* p. 143. For the description in the second half of this verse, compare v. 1656.

2630. μαῦρον ὡς Σαρακῆνον: for the shift of accentuation from Σαρακηνὸς (probably under the influence of Italian *Saraceno*) cf. Lib. E 2761, μαύρη ὡς Σαρακήνα. On the word Σαρακηνὸς in general, see Erot. Gloss. s.v.

2631. ἐθυσίαζε is the reading of all the editions and of the ms. This would demand the priest as its subject but in other versions it is the Macedonians who make sacrifices: ἔδοξέ μοι πάλιν θῦσαι τῷ Ἡλίῳ (A); «And offering sacrifices to the sun ... we turned and went on from

there» (Arm., Wolohojian p. 146). These would indicate that a first person verb is required: ἐθυσίαζα or ἐθυσιάζαμε. The second of these would be an undesirable emendation as θυσιάζω is always found elsewhere in the poem without synizesis of ια (although the corruption could easily be explained as caused by haplography of με); for this reason ἐθυσίαζα, which also accords better with A, has been preferred.

2635. δὲν εἶχα τὸ τί κάμει: for this expression with τί and infinitive cf. Chron. Turc. p. 25 καὶ δὲν εἶχαν τί κάμει καὶ ἐπαραδόθησαν.

2636. Ντούναβη: Τάναϊν A. A substitution of the familiar for the unfamiliar. The normal MG form for the Danube is Δούναβης (ις), but in medieval Greek Ντούναβις is often found e.g. Chron. Turc. p. 32 *et passim.*

2646. ἑξήντα μέτρα: μετρητὰς τξ' A, ἑκατὸν ἑξήκοντα KLγ Byz., ἑξήκοντα BV, ἑκατὸν M. The *Rimada* agrees with two of the β - type mss but it is hardly possible to include this in the list of *loci* where it accords with β against A for the β readings, taken together, indicate an original reading ἑκατὸν ἑξήκοντα.

2657. τοιοῦτο εἴδει: a similar example of a dative used as an accusative is found in Batrach. 105: μὲ τ' ὄμορφόν του ἤθει.

2675-8. The explanation of the portent is obscured by the fact that important details have been omitted by the *Rimada* from the description of the monstrous child. From the navel upwards it was of human form, but dead; the lower part consisted of the heads of various animals—lions, leopards, wolves and hounds—all alive and moving.

2702. ν' ἀθιβάνη: presumably «to instruct him (what to do)». This seems preferable to reading 'ναθιβάνει.

2737. Πέρδικα: the correct orthography and accentuation is Περδίκκας.

2738. Ποθανάν: Πύθων (A), Pithon (Arm.).
Λεονάν: λιώνατος (A), Leonnatus (Epit., similarly Arm.).

2739. Σπευστική: πόκεστος (A), Pokestes (Arm.), *re vera* Peucestes. The form of the *Rimada* exhibits a paretymology from σπευστικός, «hasty».
Λεονά: repeated from the previous line, presumably by error. But it is difficult to imagine what name could have occupied that position. Names which occur in other versions, but not in the *Rimada,* are: Meleager, Stasanor, Europius, another Philip, Menander and the enigmatic twentieth guest[1] Dardanus / Medius. Of these the most likely is the first, which appears in A as μιλιανός. Perhaps then, v. 2739 should read: Τὸν Σπευστική, (τὸν) Μιλιανὸν...

2740. 'Ολκιά: Holcias (Epit.), Olkis (Arm.).

2741. Κορβόμη: perhaps a corruption of Εὐρώπιος (?).
Εὐγενή: Eumenes (Arm.).
Νέαγρον: Νέαρχος (A, similarly Epit. and Arm.).
'Ερακλείδη: 'Ηρακλείδης (A etc.).

2742. 'Αριστονά: 'Αρίστων (A, Arm.).

2744. Κασσάνδρον: Κάσανδρος (A, Arm.), but the name should be Ἄσανδρος as Epit.
Φιλονά: Φιλώτας (A, Arm.). The adjective qualifying the name in the *Rimada* has been introduced solely as a convenient rhyme.

2748. Ὄλβιος: the same person as 'Ολκιὰς in v. 2740. In β the name appears as Ὄλκιος.

2775. Τὴν νύκτα: «the following night». A whole day's events are omitted between vv. 2774 and 2775.

2787. τὸ στρατορίκι: the word is Byzantine—στρατορίκιον—from Latin, and is used by the Chroniclers and historians with various meanings: 1) the office of *strator,* «groom» (Steph. Diac. 1137 C); 2) the groom's baton (Porph. Cer. 576, 18); 3) the Emperor's mounting-block or the place where the horses are groomed (Codinus p. 30, 10). But none of these meanings is appropriate here. The sense is «leaders of the army», «commanders-in-chief» (cf. v. 2908). The poet knew the word from his reading but etymologised it falsely as from στρατὸς + the suffix-ρίκι confused with-lik (Turkish) denoting an office or rank

1. See Merkelbach *op. cit.,* p. 130 n. 2.

or those holding it; cf. ἀρχονταρίκι(ον) which meant the place where the ἄρχοντες resided or were received and then the nobility as a class (Dimitrakos Lex., Hist. Lex.).

2804. ʼδιώτης ἰδιώτης: This is the word used by the ps-Call. to describe Peucolaus, but with the meaning of «private soldier» as the context shows: ἰδιώτης καὶ οὐδεμιᾶς τάξεως ὑφηγούμενος (A).

2825-6. In a more sophisticated writer the couplet would be ironical, in view of the «Diadochenkriege» which ensued.

2836. Λεονὰ νὰ τὸ βάλετε: corrected from the unmetrical λέον νὰ τὸ βάλεται of the editions, preserving the same form of the name as is found in vv. 2738-9. Other possibilities are Λεόννατο or Λεοννάτο νὰ βάλετε, which would restore the actual form of the name, but lack the necessary object pronoun.

2859. «The country which is situated above Babylonia».

2892. τῆς Ῥόδου τὸ κουμούνι: the reference is to the establishment of the κοινὸν τῶν νησιωτῶν by Antigonus in 315 B.C., into which Rhodes was later incorporated. κουμούνι is usually used only of the Republic of Venice or Genoa.

2901. Κυρχανιά: one would expect either a gen. sing. of the country or gen. pl. of the inhabitants. It is possible that Κυρχανιᾶς was originally written and emended by the editor who believed it to be a proper noun κὺρ Χανιά.

2925. στοῖς ποσί: such gauche archaising is not typical of the anonymous versifier and may be corrupt. A dative of the agent would be more in line with expectations—«*with* the legs ... *with* the chest»—rather than an accusative (with preposition) of the part effected—«he struck some on the legs, some on the chest»—which is the only possible interpretation of the line as it stands.

2943-4. In the ps-Call. this chapter (III 35) gives details of the chronology of Alexander's life, and a list of his conquests and the cities he built. The *Rimada* retains of all this only Alexander's age at his death (v. 2943) to which another verse is added to complete the couplet. According to A Alexander was aged 30 when he died while β gives 32 as his age. The *Rimada* agrees with Arm., Val., Leo and Epit. in recording 33; Syr. gives 32 years 7 months, Barb. 36 and Eth. 37. In fact Alexander was 32 years and 8 months.

The Epilogue

The purpose of the epilogue to the *Rimada* is threefold: 1) the customary, bibliographical, one of providing details of the date and place of publication of the book, and the names of its author and editor or corrector; 2) to castigate the poet for failing to provide the editor with a correct autograph copy of the work on which the text of the edition might be founded, and to punish him for this omission by ensuring that he remains anonymous; and 3) to vindicate the reputation of Alexander from accusations of immorality and profligacy.

The third of these intentions occupies a considerable part of the epilogue: vv. 25-52. The editor, Zinos, says that his information derives from the Suda and this is indeed so [1]. Here the Suda in fact reproduces an excerpt from Arrian [2] which praises Alexander for his treatment of Darius' womenfolk [3]. But the Suda is no reliable authority, for in the next but one excerpt, from John of Antioch, it gives a highly unfavourable picture of Alexander's *mores*.

The passage which Zinos has taken from the Suda is translated quite faithfully into modern Greek verse in vv. 27-30 and 33-52.

1. s.v. Ἀλέξανδρος, ed. Adler, vol. I, pp. 101-2.
2. Anab. IV 19, 5-20, 3.
3. Cf. in the Romance I 41, 12 and II 10, 7 (Kroll) neither of which passages is o be found in the *Rimada*.

GLOSSARY

ἀγαπῶ: love, like, want, desire; ἀγάπουν νά: would that ... 1416, 1531, 1687, 2423; cf. Cephalonian use: «I would rather» (Hist. Lex. s.v. 58).

ἀγκαλιάζω: embrace 627, 1588; also passive with active meaning: ἀγκαλιάσθηκε 191, ἀγκαλιάσθη 437, ἀγκαλιάστηκε 528 (for these forms cf. Panor. V 127).

ἀγριογαδούρι, τό: wild ass 1652 (for compounds of this type cf. the two following entries—see MNE II 173f.).

ἀγριοδαμάλι, τό: wild heifer, pl. -ια 2082. Normally ἀγριοδάμαλο (Hist. Lex., Kriaras Lex.).

ἀγριοχοίρι, τό: wild boar, pl. -ια 2061. Cf. Soumm. Past. Fid. IV 940 ἀγριοχοίρι.

ἀγριώνω: p.p.p. ἀγριωμένοι: wild, savage 1570.

ἀγωνιοῦμαι: hasten; ἀγωνιέται 1069. A form of ἀγωνίζομαι occurring in various idioms. For the form cf. Chron. Mor. 2505 ἀγωνιέσαι, *ibid.* 3478 ἀγωνιέτον. The normal meaning is «toil, struggle, labour, fight». For the meaning «hasten» cf. Hist. Lex. ἀγωνίζομαι 2.

ἀδεία, ἡ: permission, leave 116, 119, 123; the type with synizesis ἀδειάν 139. The form ἀδεία, for normal MG ἄδεια, occurs today in Zakynthos, Cephalonia, Kythera, Megara and Mani (Hist. Lex.) and in many early popular texts (see Kriaras Lex., to which may be added Thes. 983 and Def. Sus. 260). Again it is found in fairy-tales from Zakynthos taken down in the present century (Minotou Param. A p. 436, B p. 501 cf. Konomos Lex. s.v.). Its usage is confined to the SW area of the Greek-speaking world. ἀδειά, on the other hand, occurs in Northern as well as Southern dialects and idioms (Hist. Lex.).

ἀδέλφι, τό: dim. of ἀδελφὸς 2709 (see Kriaras Lex.).

ἀδελφοσύνη, ἡ: brotherhood 2885.

ἀδικιά, ἡ: wrong-doing, pl. ἀδικιὲς 1024.

ἀδυναμιά, ἡ: weakness, difficult position 1245.

ἀθιβάνω: speak, say 254; instruct(?) 2702 (Kriaras Lex.).

ἀθιβόλαιον, τό: copy, exemplar E5. ⟨ἀντιβόλιον (false archaising resolution of synizesis) ⟨ ἀντίβολον (LSJ). The meaning ὑπόδειγμα γραφῆς πρὸς ἀντιγραφὴν is only witnessed from Zakynthos (Hist. Lex. ἀθιβόλι, see under ἀντιβόλι). See also Kriaras Lex. s.v. ἀθιβόλι(ν).

ἀθιβολή, ἡ: story, narration 166, 273. ⟨ἀφιβολὴ ⟨ἀμφιβολὴ (Chatzidakis, *Ath.* 24, 1912, 9-11). For this meaning see Kriaras Lex. s.v. 20.

αἶγα, ἡ: goat, pl. αἶγες 1517.

αἰτία, ἡ: cause, reason E18; justification 2354; disadvantage 1200; strife, faction 1431.

αἰτιάζομαι: p.p. αἰτιασμένοι: accused, culpable 2745 (LSJ). In some dialects αἰτιασμένος means «diseased» or «stunted» (Hist. Lex.).

αἰχμαλωτίζω: take prisoner 1895, p.p.p. χμαλωτισμένη E27.

αἰώνας, ὁ: acc. pl. αἰῶνας 572.

ἀκαρτερῶ: wait, linger 22, 1650, 1715;

This Glossary does not constitute a complete *index verborum,* which would require an inordinate amount of space and at the same time contain much superfluous information. It lists only those words which exhibit phonological, morphological or semantic interest, viewed from the standpoint of modern demotic.

trans. wait for, first sing. impf. ἀκαρτέρουνα 2132. (For the form with ἀ-, instead of normal καρτερῶ cf. Koron. p. 41, Thes. 4324, 1109, Katsaïtis If. 1212, II523, Minotou Trag. no. 169, 211 *et passim*; Konomos Lex. s.v.).

ἀκολουθῶ: 1398, 2495, 2911; 'κολουθούσαμε 1720. In other texts often syncopated to ἀκλουθῶ.

ἀκόμα: 446, 2884.

ἀκόμη: 1086, 1486, 1563, 2579 (ἀκμὴν > ἀκομὴ > ἀκόμη > ἀκόμα MNE I 55).

ἀκουμπίζω: lie, stretch 568 (< Lat. accumbo + -ίζω).

ἀκούω: hear 56, 172, 181 *passim*, pres. ἀκοῦς 551, 'κοῦμε(ν) 1672, 1676, aor. ἤκουσε(ν) 1071, 1823, 1869, etc.; with gen. 56; ἀκούομαι «have the reputation of being» (with adjectival complement) 54, 749, 1473.

ἄκρος, τό: phrase εἰς ἄκρος: exceedingly, utterly 2022 (Kriaras Lex. s.v. ἄκρον 4).

ἀκρωτήρι, τό: 'κρωτήρι: headland 2024. The type with aphaeresis also occurs in Poulol. 288.

ἄκτιστος: eternal 1778. See commentary.

ἀλάζονας: for ἀλαζόνας (AG ἀλαζών): boastful 1816.

ἀλαζονεία, ἡ: haughtiness 1254, 1792.

ἀλαζονεύομαι: boast, pride oneself 736 *q.v.*

ἀλείφω: rub, 'λείφει 2769. For 'λείφω cf. Choumnos M VIII 107.

ἀλεπού, ἡ: fox, pl. ἀλεποῦδες 2079 (Kriaras Lex.).

ἀλήθεια: adv. truly 1241.

ἀληθεύω: come true, be realised 2644.

ἀλλάζω: change 39; ἀλλάσσω 955, 1833, 2529; ἀλλάσσομαι: be replaced 2529 (Kriaras Lex. Γ' δ). ἀλλάσσω is still the common form in very many regions of Greece (Hist. Lex.).

ἀλλέως: differently, otherwise, else 42b, 1469, 2576, 2882, 2936. See ἀλλιῶς.

ἀλληλογῶ: change one's mind 2751 (Kriaras Lex., cf. also Choumnos ms 1479 Καὶ ὁ γέρος ἀλληλόγησεν καὶ τὸν σασμὸν ἀλλάσσει).

ἀλλήλως: adv. together 2302, cf. Chron. Mor. H 8906 ἐκάθισαν ἀλλήλως (Kriaras Lex. s.v. γ)).

ἀλλιῶς: otherwise 1185; cf. ἀλλέως.

ἄλλος: gen. sing. ἄλλοῦ 1875, pl. ἀλλωνῶν 347, ἄλλων 1403, 1952.

ἀλλοῦθεν: to another place, elsewhere 2090. (In MG ἀλλοῦθε is more or less restricted to the idioms of the Peloponnese and Sterea Hellas; see Hist. Lex.).

ἅλυση, ἡ: pl. ἅλυσες 1320 (See Hist. Lex. s.v. ἅλυσι).

ἅμα: conj. since, if 177 (Kriaras Lex. s.v. Γ' 3); phrase ἐν τῷ ἅμα: in the meantime, immediately (?) 2329, 2341, E14 (Kriaras Lex. A' 3α); τὸ ἅμα: immediately 2586.

ἀμά: ἀμά 'ναι ἀνδρειωμένος 1748; ἀμὰ occurs in the sense of ἀμέσως in Lefkada (Kriaras, Katsaïtis p. 298 and Hist. Lex. *s.v.* ἅμα) but here it is probably a question of a shift accent caused by the following word having suffered aphaeresis of its accented syllable.

ἁμάξι, τό: cart, chariot, 857, 881, 924, etc.

ἁμαρτία, ἡ: sin, guilt 1350; ἁμαρτιὰ 287.

ἀμή: but 276d, 1019, 1780, 1800 (Konomos Lex., Erot. Gloss. s.v.).

ἀμπώθω: push, force, thrust 1861; also ἀμπώνω 2771 (Hist. Lex. s.v.).

ἄν: often in the form ἂ 89, 525, 535, 695, etc. Phrases ἂν ἔναι καὶ 256, 303, ἂν ἔν καὶ 2513, 2831.

ἀναγκάζω: compel, force 1081, 1756, 1808; intrans. submit, obey (?) 810, and with same meaning medio-pass. 812.

ἀναγκαῖος: necessary, comp. ἀναγκαιότερον 903.

ἀναγνώθω: read 598, 726, etc. By-form ἀναγνώνω 1409 (cf. Mach. Gloss. ἀναγνώννω and Hist. Lex. s.v. ἀναγνώθω). For the etymology, see Andriotis Lex.

ἀνάζω: show signs of life, breathe 446; (< ἀνάγω (Hist. Lex. s.v. ἀνάγω). The form ἀνάζω is peculiar to Zakynthos and various regions of the Peloponnese (Hist. Lex. *ibid.*, Konomos Lex.).

ἀναθεματίζω: p.p.p. 'ναθεματισμένοι 1348. The type with aphaeresis also in Def. Sus. 270, τοὺς 'ναθεματίζαν.

ἀναθιβάνω: mention, remember, relate, tell, call 232, 368, 1162, 1294, 1420, 1524, 1944, 2276 (Hist. Lex. s.v. ἀναθιβάλλω).

ἀναθυμοῦμαι: remember, recall, aor. ἀνεθυμήθη 315 (Hist. Lex. s.v. ἀναθυμίζω).

ἀνακαινίζω: rebuild, restore 529, 579.

ἀνακαράς, ὁ: pl. ἀνακαράδες: wind instruments prob. trumpets 849; see commentary *ad loc.*

ἀνακάτωμα, τό: disturbance, confusion, disorder 869, 1564, 1866, 2790 (Hist. Lex.); cf. Cretan ἀνεκάτωμα (Erot. Gloss. s.v.).

ἀνάντια σέ: opposite, on the other side of 2847 (cf. Choumnos ms 266, 1249, Chron. Turc. 84 (bis), 119).

ἀναπαύω: act. trans. rest, lay to rest (i.e. bury) 1388, 1901, 2932, 2939; pass. rest, relax, be calm 33, 386, 809, 980, etc.; by-form ἀναπεύω (by analogy with θεραπεύω—see MNE I 271), ἀναπεύεστε 809; the form also occurs in Chron. Mor. 2634, etc., Chron. Turc. 139, etc.

ἀνασκυρίζω: put in order, make tidy 94; (< ἀνὰ+συγυρίζω. The form ἀνασκυρίζω is witnessed for Thrace, Cephalonia and Peloponnese (Hist. Lex. s.v. ἀνασυγυρίζω) besides ἀνασ'χυράω (Epirus, Ionian Isles etc.—Hist. Lex. *ibid.*, Dimitrakos Lex. s.v. ἀνασκιράω) and a variety of other forms. No other example seems to be recorded in written texts.

ἀνασπῶ: tear up, uproot; third sing. ἀει 2089.

ἀνάστα: imp. of ἀνίστημι 1361 ((ἀνάστηθι by anal. with ἀνάβηθι - ἀνάβα etc., see Blass-Debr. § 95 (3)).

ἀναφέρνω: mention, relate 2219, 2228.

ἀνάφτω: light, set on fire 97, 1286, 1518.

ἀνδραγαθία, ἡ: brave deed, pl. ἀνδραγαθὲς 2505.

ἀνδραγαθῶ: perform heroic deeds 2503.

ἄνδρας, ὁ: *passim*, gen. sing. ἀνδρὸς 69, 152.

ἀνδρειωμένος: see ἀντρειωμένος.

ἀνεβαίνω: rise, ascend 1091, aor. ἀνέβ(η) σὲ mount (a horse) 845; ἀνιβαίνω 883 (cf. Cretan ἀνιμένω etc. Erot. Gloss., Kriaras Lex. s.v. ἀνεβαίνω).

ἀνεμοζάλη, ἡ: storm, whirlwind 2088.

ἀνερωτῶ: ask, question 69, 2436.

ἄνθρωπος, ὁ: man, nom. pl. ἀνθρῶποι 1655.

ἀνθρωποφάγος, ὁ: cannibal 1542; man-eating dog 2183.

ἀνιβαίνω: see ἀνεβαίνω.

ἀνιμένω: intrans. linger, delay 884, 1194, 1905; trans. wait for, expect 1938 (see Erot. Gloss.).

ἀνοοῦμαι: understand, perceive 1950 (< *ἀν -ἀννοοῦμαι < ἀνανοοῦμαι). For ἀνανοοῦμαι cf. Hist. Lex. s.v. ἀνανοῶ V. Favis, Lex. Arch 2, 1915, 149-150, and Batrach. 82, ἀνανοᾶται: perceive, feel. No other example of ἀνοῶ / -οῦμαι has been discovered.

ἀντάμα: together; ἀντάμα μὲ 1362, 2090, 2574; ἀντάμα σὲ 2930. (Common in texts e.g. Def. Sus. 355, Chron. Turc. 27 *et passim*. See Konomos Lex., Hist. Lex.).

ἀνταρίζω: intrans. make a noise, cause a disturbance 310 (cf. ἀνταρεύω and ἀνταριάζω Hist. Lex.; ἀνταρίζω is cited as «rare» by Dimitrakos Lex. s.v. ἀνταριάζω).

ἀντίδικα: adv. opposite, against, as prep. with gen. ἀντίδικά μου 1240, cf. Katsaïtis If. II 325, IV 283, *id.* Kl. Proem. 22, Kr. Akath. 6 (ἀντί-

λικα τσ' ἀβύσσου), Katz. III 29 (ἀντίλικα τσῆ φύσης).

ἀντιλαλῶ: echo 856.

ἀντιμάχομαι: oppose, fight against ἀντιμαχίμεσθα + acc. 2494.

ἀντίμεψις, ἡ: repayment, recompense, εἰς ἀντίμεψιν 300 (⟨ AG ἀνταμοιβή). Various forms occur; see Hist. Lex. s.v. ἀντάμειψι. ἀντίμεψις, -η is also found in Choumnos ms 1943 and Katsaïtis If. V 372; see also Erot. Gloss. s.v.

ἀντίπερα: opposite, over, beyond, yonder 86, 932, 2242; ἀντίπερα σέ: on the other side of 2488 (Hist. Lex.).

ἀντιστέκομαι: resist 1561, 1650, 1800.

ἀντιτείνω: object, refuse, gainsay 469.

ἀντρειωμένος: brave 2473, 2522; other forms: ἀντρειωμένος 768, ἀνδρειωμένος 792, 1748, 2485, etc.; ἀνδρωμένος 1001. (For ἀντρωμένος cf. Def. Log. Did. 397, Katsaïtis If. II 43; for ἀνδρωμένος cf. Katsaïtis If. III 137, IV 555, etc., Fortun. interm. iii 137, and iv 68, Erot. V 475, etc. For οἱ ἀνδρειωμένοι as an ideal class see Mavrogordato, Dig. Akr. note on 1139).

ἀνυμνῶ: glorify, extol 2501.

ἀνυψώνω: raise up, exalt 1243 (post-class. esp. LXX).

ἄνω: above, ἡ ἄνω πρόνοια: divine providence 741, 1985; ἄνω κάτω 1866.

ἀξαίνω: increase, grow 233; αὐξαίνω 1605. Both forms occur in Chron. Mor. 2440 (ms variants). See Hist. Lex. s.v. αὐξάνω.

ἀξιώνω: p.p.p. ἀξιωμένος: worthy 1811; also ἀξωμένος 731.

ἀοράτος: for ἀόρατος, with influence of adjectives in -άτος of Latin origin; ἀοράτος (fem.) 1617. This accentuation is found in certain dialectal forms, notably ὁ ἀοράτ' (Mani)—see Hist. Lex.

ἄπαντες: all 27. (Found as a learned element in other popular texts also e.g. Koron. 18 *et passim*).

ἀπαντῶ: meet 313, 674 (with gen.), 1646, 1647; impers. it is enough, δὲ σ' ἀπαντᾶ 819 (cf. Hist. Lex. s.v. 9); medio-pass. ἀπαντιέται: meet 1070 (Einl. 199).

ἀπάνω: *passim*; the form ἀπάνου is also quite frequent (28, 312, 740, etc. see on v. 468) as an adverb and as a preposition; phrase ἀπάνω κάτω 24 468, 2790; ἀπάνω ... πού: in addition to the fact that ... 1336 (see commentary on that line).

ἀπατός του: himself 671; see ἀτός μου.

ἀπεζεύω: see πεζεύω.

ἀπέκει: temporal adv. then, thereupon 18, 1498, 1961, 2758. (⟨ ἀποκεῖ originally with spatial sense; cf. ἀπέκει in many early texts: Achill. 503, Imb. 170, Lib. 2470, Chron. Turc. 106, etc.).

ἀπερνῶ = περνῶ: 344, 509, 541, 542, etc.

ἀπῆτις: conj. when, after 97, 193, 447, 761, 933, 1160, 2305, 2313; another form ἀπῆτι 1143. AG ἀφ' ἧς (ὥρας) ⟩ ἀφῆτι (influence of ἀφότι) ⟩ ἀπῆτι (influence of ἐπεί ?) ⟩ ἀπῆτις (see Hist. Lex. s.v. ἀφῆτι). The last form is found in Apokop. 59, Katsaïtis If. Af. 97, etc. Sachlikis I 246, Chron. Turc. p. 53, etc.

ἀπιλογιάζω: dismiss 1180; cf. Chron. Mor. 2968, 6724, Mach. 26.15, 210.23. Choumnos ms 509, Chron. Turc. 95. For the meaning, see Hist. Lex. s.v. ἀπολογιάζω (I) 4, and Erot. Gloss. s.v.

ἀπιλογοῦμαι: answer 47, 61 *et passim*; with aphaeresis πιλογοῦμαι 1166, 1895.

ἀπιστῶ: break faith, rebel 396, 421.

ἀπλικεύω: encamp, dwell, stay 1127, 1207 (see Dawkins Mach. Gloss.).

ἀπό: prep. with acc. *passim*; with gen. 340, 567, 1396, 1771; ἀπὲ+acc. 2326, E38 (on this form see Hist. Lex.).

ἀπογράφω: finish writing 761 (Hist. Lex. s.v. 5).

ἀποδέλοιπος· rest 2749.

ἀποδίδω: commit 988; arrive 1315 (see Hist. Lex. s.v. B4).

ἀποθαίνω: die 42c, 277, etc., p.p.p. (ἀ)ποθαμένος 275, 282, 371, etc.

ἀποθέτω: place, rest, lean; p.p.p. ἀποθεμένο 2234 (Hist. Lex.).

ἀποθίζω: place, set down 14, 18. (Present reformed ⟨ aor. ἀπέθησα ⟨ ἀποτίθημι).

ἀποκεῖ: from there 596; cf. ἀπέκει.

ἀπόκειθεν: thence 1990; cf. ἀπεκεῖθε Hist. Lex.

ἀποκρατῶ: intrans. continue with difficulty, survive 686; see commentary *ad loc.*

ἀποκρισάρης, ὁ: ambassador, emissary 763, 1094, 1118, etc.; 'ποκρισάριος 1137, nom. pl. ἀποκρισάροι 1770a, acc. pl. ἀποκρισάρους 763, -ιοὺς 1099 (⟨ ἀποκρισιάριος ⟨ ἀπόκρισις - arius).

ἀποκτίζω: finish building, aor. ἐπόκτισεν 604 (see Hist. Lex. s.v. ἀποχτίζω).

ἀπόλιγον ἀπόλιγον: gradually 998 (see commentary *ad loc.*).

ἀπολλύω: destroy; νὰ τὸν ἀπολέση 2710.

ἀπομακρά: at a distance, afar off 705, 708 (normally ἀπόμακρα—see Hist. Lex.).

ἀπομένω: remain, be patient, tolerate 150, 326, 457, etc. (Some of the meanings are proper to ὑπομένω with which the verb was confused; see Anagnostopoulos, *Ath.* 36, 1924, 80).

ἀποστέλνω: send (away) 769, 798a, etc., p.p.p. ἀπεσταλμένος 714, 719, 2599.

ἀποσώνω: arrive 1143, 2313 (Hist. Lex. s.v. A10).

ἀποταχιά: early next day 1577 (⟨ ἀπὸ ταχέα, cf. Chron. Mor. 5200, Erot. Gloss., Salvanos s.v. ἀποταχυά).

ἀποταχὺ = ἀποταχιά: 163, 2787; cf. ἀποταχὺ and ἀπεταχὺ Thes. 2458, 6109.

ἀπώλεια, ἡ: perdition, gen. τῆς ἀπωλείας 1328; compare the biblical expressions εἰς ἀπώλειαν ὑπάγειν and υἱὸς τῆς ἀπωλείας and more especially the expression πᾶν τῆς ἀπωλείας in Stavrinos 66, 130, 327 and 1178.

ἀράθυμος: adv. ἀράθυμα 238; angrily excitedly.

ἀριστότερος: left ἀριστοτέρα 1966 (formed from ἀριστερὸς + comp. suffix -ότερος as a «poetic» convenience).

ἀρμάδα, ἡ: court, courtiers (see commentary *ad loc.*) 187 (⟨ Ven. armada).

ἀρμάθι, τό: necklace 2179 (⟨ ὁρμάθιον ⟨ AG ὁρμαθός).

ἄρματα, τά: pl. arms 475, 783, etc. (⟨ Lat. arma).

ἀρματώνω: arm 319, 321, 462 *et passim.*

ἀρματωσία, ἡ: pl. -ίες: armaments, panoplies 1435 (cf. Chron. Mor. 6127, etc.).

ἀρμηνεύω: advise, give instruction, reach 257, 393; also ἑρμηνεύω 482, 720 (Konomos Lex. s.v. ὁρμηνεύω).

ἁρπάζω: sieze, snatch 377, 430, 436, 445; ἁρπάσσω 432, 1680, 1704, 1952.

ἀρχηγός, ὁ: leader, commander 730, 2453, 2825, 2828, 2906.

ἀρχινῶ (or *ἀρχινίζω*): always in aor. 589, 929, 1875, 2722, 2728.

ἄρχοντας, ὁ: commander, acc. ἄρχοντα 1094; generally pl. ἄρχοντες 195, 763, 1172, etc.

ἄρχω: command, rule τά 'ρχεις 2438 (perhaps to be corrected, see comment. *ad loc.*).

ἀσεβής: disrespectful, impious, fem. acc. sing. ἀσεβὴν 2546.

ἀσηκώνω = σηκώνω: raise, lift etc. 633, 957, 1619, E42. Elsewhere always σηκώνω. (The form with prothetic

ἀ- also occurs in Thes. 730, 9604, Katsaïtis If. IV 518, etc., Minotou Param. A. p. 387, 388, 414, and is quoted by Cor. Pret., Du Cange 1369, Zois Lex., etc.).

ἀσήκωτος: abundant, precious 2320 (Hist. Lex. B 1 and 2).

ἀσημοχρύσαφο, τό: gold and silver coins or vessels 2596 (Hist. Lex. cf. Katsaïtis If. V 604, Alosis Konst. 314).

ἀσκοντάφτω: stumble 375, cf. ἀσκοντῶ and σκοντάφτω.

ἀσκοντῶ or *-ίζω:* stumble 260 (MG σκοντάφτω).

ἀσπίδα, ἡ: mythical dragon or horse (?), gen. ἀσπίδος 418 (Hist. Lex.).

ἀσπλαγχνία, ἡ: mercilessness 1022.

ἄστρο, τό: star, pl. ἄστρα 2, 64, 65, 259, etc.; also ἀστὴρ 2913, ἀστέρας 334, ἀστέρι 2911.

ἀτός μου, etc.: pers. pron.: myself, etc. 355, 930, 1106, 1237, etc.; also ἀπατὸς 671. (Hist. Lex. s.v. αὐτὸς 3q Chron. Mor. 328 *et passim*).

αὐθέντης, ὁ: lord 679, 718, etc. Voc. αὐθέντη 1045, gen. αὐθέντη 411; more common is ἀφέντης *q.v.*

αὐθεντία, ἡ: rule, command, majesty 328, 602; αὐθεντιά 274, 464, etc.; ἀφεντιὰ 922, 1334, 2678; as a periphrastic personal pron. ἡ αὐθεντιὰ / ἀφεντιά σου, etc. 577, 722, 789, 794, etc.

αὐλών, ὁ: water channel, acc. pl. αὐλῶνας 571 (ex corr.).

αὐξαίνω: see ἀξαίνω.

αὐτεῖνος: see αὐτός.

αὐτοκράτωρ, ὁ: voc. αὐτοκράτορ 305.

αὐτός / αὐτεῖνος / αὖτος, etc.: demonstrative adj. and personal pron. See Introd. p. 68 f. for the range of forms.

αὐτοῦ: here 806, 999, 1065, 1497, 2530, 2534.

ἀφανίζω: destroy 669, 740 *et passim*; with aphaeresis 'φανίζω 1754.

ἀφέντης, ὁ: *passim*, gen. ἀφεντὸς 1844, otherwise ἀφέντη; cf. αὐθέντης.

ἀφεντεύω: trans. and intrans. rule, govern 6a, 7, 264, 294, 398 *et passim.*

ἀφεντιά, ἡ: see αὐθεντία.

ἀφήνω: aor. ἄφησα or ἄφηκα (5, 790, 1288, 2007, 2420, etc. subj. ν' ἀφήκη 2268), aor. imp. ἄφες 23, 1978, ἄφησε 274, 543, etc. and ἂς 346, 461, 708 (especially for the formation of third person imperatives), pl. ἀφῆτε 708, 2415, 2418.

ἀφοῦ: since; seeing that 1137, 1417.

ἅφτω: third pl. aor. ἅψαν 455.

ἀφωνάζω = φωνάζω: 261 (The form with prothesis also occurs in Chron. Turc. 33, etc.).

ἀχαμνίζω: weaken, enfeeble, p.p.p. ἀχαμνισμένοι 2873.

βαβίζω: bark 705 (cf. Hist. Lex. and Konomos Lex.); a by-form βαβῶ appears in ἐβαβοῦσαν 1600, but is not otherwise attested.

βάνω: put, place, throw *passim;* hold, have a capacity of 2035, 2036, 2646 (Hist. Lex. s.v. A5η); appoint 1419; call, name 2836 (Hist. Lex. s.v. A13); utter 1413, 2814 (Hist. Lex. A15); middle, apply oneself to, resort to βάνουνται στ' ἄρματα, 2796.

βαρυναστενάζω: sigh heavily 2802 (normally βαρυαναστενάζω or βαρεαναστενάζω — see Hist. Lex.).

βαρῶ: strike (with acc. or gen. of the person struck) 964, 1346, 1892, 2716; πόλεμον βαροῦσαν: did battle 1864; sound (of a musical instrument) 839, 841, 1876 (Hist. Lex. s.v. A13).

βασιλέας / βασιλεὺς / βασιλιάς, ὁ: *passim.* For the forms in use see Introd. p. 67.

βασταίνω: hold, support 1401 (commonly βαστῶ; βασταίνω occurs in Zakynthos, Cephalonia, Crete and Peloponnese — Hist. Lex. s.v. and in one other early text: Anth. Char. 301, 6).

βαστῶ: carry, bring 676, 1772, 2797; support, sustain — τὸν ἐβάσταξε καρδιά: he had the nerve for 1192, οὐδὲ βαστᾶ σε ἡ ζωή: you have not much time left to live 1714; intrans. survive 1601.

βγάνω: take out, extract, send out, draw (a sword), etc., aor. ἔβγαλα *passim.* See also ἐκβάλλω.

βγοδώνω: send, dispatch 762, p.p.p. βγοδωμένοι: equipped, prepared 494, 770. Cf. βοδώνω and εὐοδώνω.

βδομάδι, τό: dim. of ἑβδομάδα, 1551 (see commentary *ad loc.*).

βέρος: pl. βέροι: good men and true 495 (‹ Ital. vero).

βημερία, ἡ: calm, prosperity 2845 (‹εὐημερία).

βία, ἡ: phrases: στὴν βίαν: in time of need 182a; μὲ βιά: with difficulty 1664, μὲ βίας do. 2075 (cf. μετὰ βγιᾶς: with the same meaning Mach. 334^{10}); μὲ βία or μὲ βιά: hastily 1183, 2094, 2255, 2636.

βιάζω: middle, hasten 1331; passive, be smitten with pain ἐβιάσθη 225.

βιβλόπουλον, τό: dim. of βιβλίο E1 (cf. Thes. 235, 10,806, Portulans p. XIII line 26).

βιγλάτορας, ὁ: sentry, pl. βιγλατόροι 1113, βιγλάτορες 1119 (‹ Lat. viglator).

βλέπω and *ἐβλέπω:* (for the latter cf. Synax. Gad. 169, Poulol. 178, Xenit. 33, 528, etc.) *passim*, impf. ἔβλεπα and ἤβλεπα (250, 852, 2306, 2608), aor. ἔβλεψε 2668, imp. sing. δὲς 68, 255, ἔδ(ε) 1349 (cf. ἔδ' ἐκεῖ Thes. I 63. 7), pl. ἰδέτε E26, E51, archaic part. ἰδὼν 1333 (? see commentary *ad loc.*).

βλογητικός: adj. lawfully wedded (then as a noun- «husband») 363 (see commentary *ad loc.* and Hist. Lex.).

βοδώνω and *εὐοδώνω:* prepare, equip, put in order (always in p.p.p.) 779, 837, 1569; achieve, do 1505 (cf. νὰ τὸ 'βοδώσου Def. Sus. 90, Chron. Mor. P 2390, 2740); calm, reconcile 2399; intrans. be in time (= προφταίνω) 1331 (Hist. Lex. s.v. A4), p. p. p. βοδωμένη: situated (?) 2859.

βοηθῶ: with gen. 81; in the form βοθῶ: 442, 466, 878, 1059, 2234 (cf. Prod. 3. 10, Gad. 276, Thes. 179, 10,497, etc.).

βολεῖ: impers. it is convenient, it suits, impf. ἐβόλει 2030 (cf. Chron. Mor. 1669, Chron. Turc. p. 111, Hist. Lex.).

βούκινο, τό: trumpet 839, 841, 1876 (‹ Lat. bucina).

βουλεύομαι: intrans. take thought (Hist. Lex. s.v. βουλεύω 1); trans. advise 571 (= συμβουλεύομαι; for the act. βουλεύω with this meaning, see Hist. Lex. 2 but the pass. form is not apparently found elsewhere in the trans. sense).

βουλευτής, ὁ: adviser, pl. βουλευτάδες 562.

βουλιάζω: trans. sink 2018 (Hist. Lex.).

βούλομαι: wish, desire 1012, 1074 (survives in dialects — see Hist. Lex.).

βουλῶ: intrans. sink 20, 2778.

βουλώνω: seal 161, 761 (‹ med. Greek. βοῦλλα ‹ Lat. bulla).

βουλωτήριν, τό: a seal or a ring used as a seal 161 (see Hist. Lex. s.v. βουλλωτήρι).

βουνί, τό: mountain 2607, pl. βουνία 774, 2284; the commoner MG. from βουνὰ occurs at 2278 (Erot. Gloss.).

βουρκώνω: well with tears 148, 1340.

βραδύ, τό: for more normal βράδυ 116 (see commentary *ad loc.*).

βρουχοῦμαι: roar, groan, pres. βρουχᾶται 2919, βρουχιέται 1984, impf. ἐβρουχάτου 1231 (see Hist. Lex. *s.v*, βρυχειέμαι).

βρῶμα, τό: food, pl. βρώματα 686.

βρώση and *βρῶσις, ἡ:* food, meat 898.

1568 (Hist. Lex., Erot. Gloss.).

βυζάνω: suck 1970 (see Erot. Gloss. *s.v.*, Andriotis Lex.).

γάδαρος, ὁ: donkey, pl. γαδάροι 1654 (Hist. Lex. s.v. γάιδαρος).

γαμῶ: have sexual intercourse, aor. subj. pass. (of a woman) 2545 (for another example of the obscene use of the word in an early text see Mach. 574 n.4).

γάρ: redundant conj. 7, 117, 178 *et passim*.

'γγαρεύω: p.p.p. 'γγαρεμένοι: in servitude 406 (see commentary *ad loc.*).

γγίζω: see ἐγγίζω.

γελῶ: laugh 1271, 2519; trans. laugh at, mock 34c; deceive 956, 1963.

γενή, ἡ: kind of garment 1441 (perhaps to be emended — see comment. *ad loc.*).

γενιά, ἡ: date of birth 69; γενεά: race (of animals) 1826.

γένος, τό: dat. γένει 234, dat. as nom. / acc. 80 (see comment. *ad loc.*).

γέροντας, ὁ: old man, gen. γερόντου 575, acc. pl. γέροντας 477.

γέρος, ὁ: old man 571, 2873.

γεύομαι: taste (with acc.) 1566 (Dimitrakos Lex.).

γῆ, ἡ: *passim*; nom. γῆς 1942, 1944, 2622 (cf. MNE I 469).

γιὰ and *διὰ* (the latter generally disyllabic): *passim*; γιὰ νὰ and διὰ νὰ frequently for simple νὰ as a metrical convenience.

γιά: particle, with imperative γιά δὲς 255, γιά πέτε 2409.

γιαμιά: at once 217, 1220, 1602, 1885, 2068, 2381, 2519, 2735 (Erot. Gloss., Dimitrakos Lex.; the modern Zakynthian form is γιαμὰ — see Konomos Lex.).

γιατὰ and *διατὰ = γιά:* διατ' ἐμένα 2221, γιατ' ἐμένα 2863, γιατ' αὖτο therefore 1468, 2340 (the prepositions, formed from γιὰ or διὰ + n. pl. article or on the analogy of μετὰ — see Erot. Gloss. p. 611 n. — occur frequently in popular texts e.g. Xenit. 308, 312, Thes. 55, 233, Katsaïtis Kl. II 902, Koron. 6, etc. See also Thumb § 163 n. 2).

γιατί and *διατί:* interr. adv. and conj. *passim*.

γίνομαι: second aor. ἐγένετο(ν) 53, 847, aor. third sing. γίνη, 194, 1706, 2926, ἐγίνη 49, 186, etc., ἐγίνηκε 129, 378, subj. νὰ γένη 79, 265, etc. νὰ γενῆ 1014, 2936, part. γεναμένος 550, 798 etc. (for the -ε- forms in aor. subj. + part. and the variation in accentuation of aor. subj. see MNE II 133-4); γεναμένος: real, thorough-going 550, 1338.

γινώσκω: know 409, 945, 1807, 2445.

γιοφύρι, τό: bridge 925, 932a, 934, 941 (< γέφυρα with change of ε to ο).

γκρεμνίζω: cast down from a height 260 (cf. Erot. IV 610); the form ἐγκρεμνίζω with prothetic ἐ- 261, 268 (cf. Chron. Mor. H890 and the noun ἐγκρεμνὸς Erot. Gloss.).

γλήγορα: quickly 521, 762 *et passim*; ἐγλήγορα 484, 798; ὀγλήγορα 544, 726 (Erot. Gloss.), comp. adv. γληγορώτερα and γληγορώτερο (sometimes with def. art.): as quickly as possible, as soon as possible 467, 476, 520, etc. (For an explanation of how ἐγλήγορα < ἐγείρω came to mean «quickly» see Schmitt, Chron. Mor. p. 606).

γλυκοχαιρετῶ: greet affectionately 314 (Dimitrakos Lex.).

γλύω: escape 2822 (see Erot. Gloss. s.v.).

γλωσσόκομον, τό: chest, casket 2181 (originally a box for keeping the tongues or reeds of musical instruments — see LSJ; in LXX sometimes used for the Ark of the Covenant, see Dimitrakos Lex.).

γνεύω, turn the eyes 1291; trans. look at, examine 2006 (cf. AG νεύω LSJ; MG γνεύω or γνέφω is otherwise only attested with the meaning «nod agreement» — Dimitrakos Lex.).

γνέφος, τό: cloud, pl. γνέφη 2280 (< νέφος cf. γνέφος Katsaïtis Thy. V 266. Dimitrakos Lex.; also σύγνεφο *ibid.*).

γνώθω: perceive, feel, understand 145, 2039; with prothetic vowel ἐγνώθω 1377 (see Erot. Gloss.).

γνωρίζω and *ἐγνωρίζω:* recognise, know, discern etc. Forms with prothesis occur at 262, 733, 870, 1175, 1265, 1371, 2590.

γογγύζω: grumble, complain 1737 (post-class. See LSJ, Dimitrakos Lex.).

γονεῖς, οἱ: parents 1313, acc. γονιοὺς 475, gen. γονιῶν 2125 (Erot. Gloss.).

γονικό, τό: patrimony 486, pl. τὰ γονικὰ parentage, ancestry 72, ancestral home 222 (Erot. Gloss., Dimitrakos Lex.).

γουμένη, ἡ: respectful term of address 131 (< ἡγουμένη, generally (ἡ)γουμένισσα in MG but cf. Imb. 581 δείχνουν τὸ τὴν 'γουμένην and Sachlikis II 476, 664 σὰν 'γουμένη).

γοῦν: therefore 2027 (AG, cf. Koron. 13 *et passim*).

γουργά: adv. quickly 992 (< γοργά; for the form cf. Def. Sus. 101, Thes. XI 15,2, Chron. Mor. P 2481 [γουργὸν *ibid.* 2815]).

γραμματικός, ὁ: secretary, scribe 2817, 2839 (cf. Mach. 296[23]).

γραφή, ἡ: letter 476, 661 *et passim*.

γρικῶ: hear, listen, perceive, understand etc. *passim*; sometimes with object in gen. 1303, 1345; pass. with act. meaning 2381; form with prothesis ἐγρικῶ 909, 1949; pass.: have a reputation, be reputed (cf. ἀκούομαι) 1131 (cf. Erot. 159). For etymology, see Erot. Gloss.

γυναίκα, ἡ: woman, wife, gen. γυναικὸς 2000, nom. γυνὴ E35, acc. γυνὴ 886, 1390, 2235, etc. (See Erot. Gloss. where this last form is attributed to influence of ecclesiastical language).

γυναικόμορφος: of womanish form 2021.

γύναιο, τό: synonymous with γυναίκα 2246 (cf. Call. 119); but in MG sometimes signifies an immoral woman.

γυρίζω: intrans. turn, return, *passim*; trans. wander through, roam 775; go round, complete a circuit of 2482; surround 2483; give back 412; govern, rule 2685 (cf. Dimitrakos Lex. s.v. 13); have a circumference of 2622 (cf. Chron. Turc. 112); heed, respect(?) 1372.

γύρου γύρου: adv. all around 1292 (γύρου γύρου Katsaïtis Kl. II 62, cf. γύρου τριγύρου Erot. Gloss.).

δά: now, any longer 449 (< AG δὴ MNE I 55, cf. ἐδὰ Erot. Gloss.).

δαμάκι: a little 751 (for a list of occurrences in Cretan texts see Erot. Gloss. s.v. but for etymology see Chatzidakis in *Ath.* 28, 1916, Lex. Arch. 101-3).

δάσο, τό: wood 1592, gen. δάσου 954.

δαῦτος = αὐτός: only with prepositions, μὲ δαῦτον 110, μὲ δαῦτο 1668 (cf. Def. Sus. 118 γιὰ δαῦτο Katsaïtis If. Prol. 197, 1232, etc., Chron. Turc. 30 *et passim*, Thumb § 136, Konomos Lex., Dimitrakos Lex.).

δέ: AG δὲ 42a, 195, 978 *et passim*.

δειλιάζω: be afraid 1759, 2432, p.p.p. δειλιασμένοι: terrified 877 (Erot. Gloss.).

δένδρο(ν) and *δενδρόν, τό:* sing. δένδρον 2651, pl. δένδρα 1553, 1609, 2096 or δένδρη 1611, 1618, etc. sing. δενδρὸν 2653, gen. δενδροῦ 1608, pl. δενδρὰ 1605, 2098, etc. (for oxytone forms, see MNE II 97).

δεξιός: right, fem. δεξιὰ 1966, δεξία (n.b. accent) 2607.

δεξιότης, ἡ: skill, dat. δεξιότητι E58.

δέομαι: trans. pray to, beseech 525, 623, E16.

δερμάτι, τό: pelt of a animal 2888 (Erot. Gloss.).

δεσπότης, ὁ: voc. δέσποτα: my lord 576, 2733, 2794.

δεύτερον: secondly 1798.

δηλῶ: indicate, third sing. δηλοῖ 585, 2674 (MG δηλώνω).

δημηγέρτης, ὁ: rebel, traitor 1043 (by assimilation from AG δημεγέρτης which is also the common MG form; δημηγέρτης is found in other medieval texts: Chron. Mor. 657, 682, 3831, Belis. (Georg.) 441, Koron. 35, 85, Chron. Turc. 77, 83, 99, 120, etc.).

διά: see γιά.

διαβάζω: (as now) read 642, 2818, E31; spend, pass (time) 2773 (for this use cf. Lib. S 1572, E2721, etc., and *Historia Imperatorum* line 4 — published in I. Rochow, *Studien zu der Person, den Werken und dem Nachleben der Dichterin Kassia, BBA*, 38, 1967, p. 194).

διαβαίνω: pass, travel 57, 174, 191 *et passim*.

διαδουλώνω: enslave, p.p.p. διαδουλωμένοι 405 (not found elsewhere).

διαλαλιά, ἡ: proclamation 1464, 1466, 1410a (Dimitrakos Lex.).

διαλαλῶ: proclaim 1449.

διαλέγω: p.p.p. διαλεμένος: choice, select, picked 335, 2528, 2543, 2573.

διαλεκτός: picked, excellent, outstanding 1682 (see Dimitrakos Lex. s.v. διαλεχτός).

διαλύω: explain, interpret, make clear 600.

διαρμηνεύω: interpret 616; instruct (in p.p.p.) 6, 60, 478, 838, 1410; destine 266.

διατά: see γιατά.

διατί: see γιατί.

διδασκαλεύω: teach, p. p. p. διδασκαλεμένο: expert 1946 (see Erot. Gloss., Dimitrakos Lex. s.v. δασκαλεύω).

διδάσκαλος, ὁ: teacher 1508a, 1511, etc., nom. pl. διδασκάλοι 2339.

δίδω = δίνω: 409, 960, 1970, 2427, 2539, 2541, 2896 (the more common MG δίνω is also found 370, 976, 2712, but is less frequent), aor. ἔδωσα and ἔδωκα (with subj. νὰ δώκῃ 424 cf. Chron. Turc. 70).

δικαιοσύνη, ἡ: justice 2692, E26; also δικιοσύνη 650, 2868.

δικάσιμον, τό: quarrel or (perhaps) conversation 322a (< AG ἡ δικάσιμος (ἡμέρα) judgement day; in MG texts a variety of meanings is found: trial or judgement Thes. 5334, Fortun. Interm. 167, III 96, dispute, quarrel Poulol. 7, conversation Katsaïtis If. III 287, Thy. V 464, etc.; see MNE I 423).

διορθῶ: realise, put into practice (?) 276d.

διότι and *διότις*: because 351, 450 *et passim* (διότις like τότες, ὄντες etc.).

διχάλι, τό: pitchfork 2062.

δίχως and *διχῶς*: δίχως: without 391, 502, 1278, 1764, 1809, 1185; διχῶς 1431, 1452, 2214, 2354; μὲ δίχως 340; phrase (μὲ) δίχως ἄλλο: without fail, without more ado, certainly 1312, 2510, 2916 (Erot. Gloss.).

διώχνω: pursue 796, 885, etc., aor. ἔδωξα (loss of ι) 1781, part. διωκόντων from AG διώκω 944.

δοκεῖ: aor. ἔδοξε: it seemed 2309 (AG δοκεῖ survives in Cretan in the forms διόχνει, ἤδιοξε — see Erot. Gloss. p. 540).

δοξεύω: shoot with a bow 543 (< τοξεύω).

δουκάτο, τό: ducat 508, 693, 760, 1438.

δουλένω (?): enslave, aor. ἐδούλεσε 502 (see comment.).

δουλεύω: trans. serve 982; look after, groom (a horse) (?) 2915.

δουλοσύνη, ἡ: servitude, slavery 1042, 2156, 2164, 2176, 2194, E52.

δουλώνω: enslave 648, etc.; pass. submit 634, 650.

δραγουμάνος, ὁ: dragoman, interpreter 2115 (Dimitrakos Lex., Andriotis Lex.).

δράκοντας, ὁ: see δράκος.

δρακοντία, ἡ or *δρακοντίας ὁ*: a precious stone, draconites 2321 (Lat. dracontia(s). See Lewis - Short).

δράκος, ὁ: serpent, snake; δράκος, acc. δράκον 186, 189, 590, 591; δράκοντας, pl. δράκοντες 193, 1623.

δραπανοάμαξο, τό: scythed chariot, Lat. currus falcatus 833, 1222 (for δραπάνι < δρέπανον see MNE I 235).

δύναμη, ἡ: strength, force, power etc., acc. δυνάμη (with accent of dat. δυνάμει) 566, 1088, 1354, etc.; δύναμις 1842 and acc. δύναμιν 795, 1304, etc.

δύνομαι: be able 32, 76, 558, 1460.

δωδεκάπατος: twelve-storied 1292.

δωδεκάρης: twelve years old 247 (for the suffix -άρης see Andriotis Lex.).

δῶμα, τό: house, chamber 2791 (AG δῶμα — in MG the word signifies the flat roof of a house).

ἐβγαίνω - βγαίνω: *passim*. See also ἐκβαίνω.

ἐβλάπτω = βλάπτω: 1430 (for the prothetic vowel compare ἐβλέπω etc., cf. Thes. I 102.8 νὰ μᾶς ἐβλάψῃς, Chron. Turc. 62 νὰ μὴν τοὺς ἐβλάψῃ. The form with prothesis is not, however, recorded by the Hist. Lex.).

ἐβλέπω: see βλέπω.

ἐγγίζω: approach, touch 706, 2280, E40; with aphaeresis γγίζω 1380, 1614, 1858.

ἐγκρεμνίζω: see γκρεμνίζω.

ἐγλήγορα: see γλήγορα.

ἐγνώθω: see γνώθω.

ἐγνωρίζω: see γνωρίζω.

ἐγρικῶ: see γρικῶ.

ἐδεκεῖ: there 569, 874, 2890. (Common in demotic texts e.g. Katz. I 331, II 32, Def. Sus. 5, Katsaïtis Kl. III 354, etc.).

ἐδεπά: here 24, 2410 (for other instances see Erot. Gloss. s.v.; to that list may be added Def. Sus. 118 *id.* Log. Did. 413, Katsaïtis If. Prol. 140, Thy. I14 and in the form ἐδαπᾶ Batrach. 18).

ἐδέτις: thus 570, 1044 (Cf. Triv. Tag. 84, Stavrinos 494, Xenit. 210; the more usual form is ἐδέτσι — see Erot. Gloss.).

ἐδικός μου, etc.: poss. adj. 71, 221, 272 *et passim*; the normal form δικός μου is also found.

ἐδῶθεν: hence 622, 1780, 1781; here 1115 (cf. Katsaïtis Thy. I13 and Dimitrakos Lex. s.v. ἐδῶθε(ς)).

ἐζητῶ: seek out, avenge, inf. ἐζητήσει 1343 (either < ἐκζητῶ avenge, see LSJ, or prothetic ἐ- + ζητῶ cf. Achel. 149 δὲν σᾶς ἐζητῶ βουλήν).

ἐθυμοῦμαι = θυμοῦμαι: 1820; see commentary *ad loc.*

εἶδος, τό: form, appearance 1652, dat. εἴδει used as acc. 2657.

εἴμητα: except, but for 1422, 1922 (<εἰ + μὴ adv. ending - τα (cf. διχωστὰ) — see Pangalos s.v., compare the Naxian εἰ μὴ τά μου Psaltis, Lex. Arch. 5, 41).

εἴτις = ὅποιος: whoever 346, 1425, 1427, 1439, etc.; εἴτι κι (καὶ) ἂ 801, 2193 (occurs frequently in the texts e. g. Xenit. 64, 101, Apokop. 257, Katsaïtis Kl. I 882, II 483).

ἐκ + acc. = *ἀπό*: 72, 133, 146 *et passim*; often suffers aphaeresis before def. art. — 'κ τόν, 'κ τὴν etc.; before vowels ἐξ or ξ' (see Introd. p. 83).

ἐκβαίνω: to leave, go out, only in impf. ἐξέβαινε 11 and aor. ξέβηκα 2555,

ἐξέβηκε 2683, ἐξέβη 2046, ἐξέβημαν 2047, ἐξέβησαν 1593. See also ἐβγαίνω.

ἐκβάλλω: cast out, aor. ἐξέβαλες 2809. See also βγάνω.

ἐκεῖθε(ν) and *κεῖθεν:* thence 509, 514, 547 *et passim.*

ἐκλέγω: select, p.p.p. ἐκλελεγμένους 2726.

ἐκπλήσσω: astonish, aor. pass. ἐξεπλάγη 1832.

ἐκτελῶ: celebrate, perform rites νὰ ἐκτελάστε 1424 (the meaning probably from ecclesiastical ἐκτελέσαι λειτουργίαν, the form -άστε perhaps due to influence of γελῶ or simply a licence employed for the sake of rhyme).

ἐλεμονοῦμαι: have pity on 1259 (the verb is also found in Mach. 540[12] (O), 2544 and Thes. 1105 and in the form ἐλεημονῶ Panor. IV 274, 290).

ἐλενός: wretched, pitiful 42 (⟨ ἐλεεινός; the contracted form occurs at Sachlikis 2.711 οἱ 'λενὲς and at Chron. Turc. 104, 33 where Zoras «corrects» ἐλενοὺς to ἐλεεινούς; also in Thes. — see Du Cange).

ἐλέφας: ὁ: elephant, acc. pl. ἐλέφαντας 2025; see also λέφας.

ἐμορφιά, ἔμορφος: see ὀμορφιά, ὄμορφος.

ἐμπαίνω = μπαίνω: *passim.*

ἐμπασία, ἡ: entrance, access 538; with aphaeresis μπασία: charge, attack 853, frontier, marches of a country 2904, 1436 (cf. Du Cange App. 67-8 ἐμβασία, ἐμπασία, Dimitrakos Lex. ἐμβασία, ἐμπασιά, Konomos Lex. μπασία; Katsaïtis Thy. I 21 ἐμπασιὰ «entrance», Choumnos ms 706 ἐμπασά: «frontier»: ποῖος εἶσαι καὶ πόθεν ὁδεύεις | τῆς Παλαιστίνης ἐμπασάν;).

ἔμποδος (prob. ἡ): hindrance, obstacle 142, 1426 (generally fem., cf. Chron. Mor. 443, Thes. I 128.5 δίχως καμμίαν ἔμποδον, but may also be neut. e.g. Thes. 185.6 ἄλλον τίποτες ἔμποδον, Katsaïtis Thy. II 390 ἔμποδο κανένα; in Alosis Konst. 657 the gender is indeterminate).

ἐμπρός, ἐμπροστά: see ὀμπρός, ὀμπροστά.

ἐναντίο(ν), and *ἐνάντιον τό:* the opposite, the contrary 1276, E 7.

ἐνεμπαίζω: deceive, delude 124 (⟨ ἐμπαίζω reformed from aor. ἐνέπαιξα; cf. Triv. Hist. 345, Choumnos ms 74, 544, Cor. pret. dillegiare, ἐνεμπαίζειν).

ἐντόπιος: local, native 1541, 1547, 2037, 2093, 2105.

ἐξεκδίκηση, ἡ: revenge 1530.

ἐξεκδικῶ and *ξεκδικῶ:* avenge a person or a thing 78, 84, 626, 1368, 2388; in the form νὰ ξεδικήση 1344; pass. ξεκδικοῦμαι: be avenged, have one's revenge 2410, 2417 (ξεκδικῶ also occurs in Thes. 14 νὰ ξεκδικήση; cf. ξεγδικῶ Katsaïtis If, II 715, V 209, etc. and γδικιώνομαι Erot. Gloss.).

ἔξοδος, ἡ: expense, pl. ἔξοδες 687, acc. ἔξοδον at 559 may be either from ἡ ἔξοδος or τὸ ἔξοδον. (For ἔξοδες: expenses cf. Chron. Mor. 601, 8597, Achel. 1239, Chron. Turc. 26 and see Erot. Gloss. for other examples).

ἐξουσία, ἡ: authority, power, capability; the word occurs in a variety of forms: ἐξουσία E29, 44, ἐξουσιὰ 179, 2539, 'ξουσία 2154, ἐξουσὰ 1362, 1693, 2677. (See Erot. Gloss. s.v ἐξὰ and *ibid.* commentary on I 1000).

ἐπαίρνω = παίρνω: 480, 613, 1168, etc. imp. ἔπαρε 257, 1068, etc.

ἐπεί: since, because 1082, 1418, 1469. 1776, 2346, 2821, E15.

ἐπειδή: since 987.

ἐπικέρνης, ὁ: cup-bearer, attendant, pl. ἐπικέρνοι 1157. (ἐπικέρνης occurs in β III 31; cf. πιγκέρνης Du Cange).

ἑπταχίλιοι: seven hundred 487, 488, (hybrid from AG ἑπτακισχίλιοι and MG ἑφτὰ χιλιάδες).

ἐργάζομαι: makes fashion 13.

ἐρημάζω: destroy, ruin 1228.

ἑρμηνεύω: see ἁρμηνεύω.

ἐσπλαγχνοσύνη, ἡ: pity, compassion 1686 (⟨ εὐσπλαγχνοσύνη *q.v.*).

ἕτερος: other, acc. pl. ἕτερους 2937, ἑτέρους 2463, dat. pl. ἑτέροις 1147.

ἕτοιμος: phrase στό 'τοιμο νά: on the point of 892 (for a similar phrase compare στὄστερο: afterwards Achel 576 *et passim*).

ἐτότες = τότε: 373, 378, 455 *et passim*; see Erot. Gloss. s.v.

ἐτοῦτος: this 180, 285, 361 *et passim*; see τοῦτος.

ἔτσι: thus 356, 641 *et passim* (always printed ἔτζη by the early editions).

εὐεργετῶ: provide someone with something, acc. of thing, gen. of person E 13.

εὐλογοῦμαι: trans. intrans. marry, get married 1010, 1503 (cf. Dig. Akr. (E) 217, Chron. Mor. 1194, 2509, Def. Log. Did. 295, Thes. I Hyp. 14, I 135.7, I 136.2. See Hist. Lex. s.v. βλογῶ 4 β).

εὔμορφος: see ὄμορφος.

εὐνοῦχος: eunuch E 33; with incorrect accentuation εὔνουχος 1329.

εὐοδώνω: see βοδώνω.

εὐσπλαγχνοσύνη, ἡ: pity, compassion 1926; formed from εὐσπλαγχνία and the suffix -οσύνη for which a marked preference may be noted in the poem. See also ἐσπλαγχνοσύνη.

εὐτεῖνος = αὐτός: see Introd. p. 63.

ἐχθρεύομαι: intrans. be at enmity, be hostile 830.

ἐχρήζω: see χρήζω.

ἐψές: last night 283.

ἕως: with numbers, about 492, 2036.

ζάλη, ἡ: confusion, dizziness 227, 699, 1183, 2560 (see Erot. Gloss.).

ζαρώνω: intrans. shrink, huddle up, cower 198.

ζό, τό: animal 1945, 2921; see Dimitrakos Lex. etc. The type ζῶον, pl. ζῶα also occurs at 2488, 2492, 62.82

ἡδέως: pleasantly 2935.

ἡμέρα, ἡ: day 207 *et passim*; μέρα is equally common, 331, 791, etc.

ἡμερώνω: calm, pacify 2400; with aphaeresis μερώνω 2401.

ἥμισυς: half n. pl. τά 'μισυ 1318; see commentary *ad loc.*

ἠμπορῶ = μπορῶ: 244, 1048, 2566, 2763, 2822, E 19; but μπορῶ is also frequently used.

ἠξεύρω: see ξεύρω.

ηὑρίσκω: find *passim*; a wide variety of forms occurs: pres. ηὑρίσκω, εὑρίσκω, βρίσκω, aor. ηὗρα, ηὑρῆκα, εὑρῆκα, ηὕρηκα, βρῆκα etc.

θάλασσα, ἡ: sea 1669, 1942, etc., gen. τῆς θαλάσσου 3 (see commentary *ad loc.*).

θάμα, τό: marvel, wonder 2330.

θάμασμα, τό: marvel 2662 (see Erot. Gloss.).

θανή, ἡ: death 1484, 1928, 2443.

θαρρετός: phrase θαρρετὰ κρατῶ: hold as certain 124d (see commentary *ad loc.*).

θάρρο, τό: courage, belief 1496; cf. θράσο.

θαρρῶ: believe, hope, trust, expect, think 800, 1822, 1870, 1882, 1894, 2258.

θαυμάζω: trans. and intrans. admire, be amazed *passim*; passive θαυμάζομαι with same meaning 196, 789, 2338, etc.

θάφτω: bury 456 *et passim*, aor. pass. (νὰ) θαπτῆ 2449, 2936 (pseudo-erudite form).

θέ, θὲ νά: used for all persons to form future tense 110, 115, 385 *et passim*; see Introd. p. 79.

θεραπεία, ἡ: cure, consolation, comfort 115; proparoxytone θεράπεια 104 (cf. Cretan θαράπειο Erot. Gloss.).

θεραπεύω: cure, console, satisfy 1826,

aor. pass. (ἐ)θεραπάη 136, 181 (cf. Dimitrakos Lex. s.v. 14).

θέτω: set, place, p.p.p. θεμένα 619.

θεωρία, ἡ: appearance, sight, view 2139 (cf. θωριὰ Erot. Gloss.).

θηρίον, τό: beast 1307, 2071, etc. with synizesis θηριό, pl. θηριὰ 1543, 1825, 2046 *et passim*; θεριό(ν), pl. θεριὰ 1552, 1578, 2018, etc.

Θιός, ὁ: Θεὸς 940, 1016 (Dimitrakos Lex).

θράσο, τό: courage, daring 1559 (AG θάρσος [θάρρος Attic] and θράσος were distinguished by the Grammarians as meaning «courage» and «reckless daring» respectively; but Homer used both indiscriminately and so sometimes did the Attic poets, to suit the needs of their metre).

θρασυποιῶ: encourage, embolden 947 (cf. the Byzantine θαρσοποιῶ — Sophocles Lex. No other instance of θρασοποιῶ has been discovered at any stage of the language).

θρέφω: nourish, bring up 83, 233, 586, 918.

θρονί, τό: throne 615 (see Erot. Gloss.).

θροφή, ἡ: nourishment, food 2481.

θυγάτηρ, ἡ: daughter 1009; learned for θυγατέρα which also occurs 2369, gen. θυγατέρας 2377.

θυμώνω: anger, pass.: get angry 1731, 1953; pass. θυμώνομαι with acc.: be angry with something, resent 419, 1133.

θυσιάζω: sacrifice, with acc. of the deity sacrificed to 522, 608, 1434, etc.

θωρῶ: see, watch 404, 1384, 1698, 2402 (see Erot. Gloss.).

ἱερεύς, ὁ: priest 2939, acc. ἱερέα 2630, pl. ἱερεῖς 2111.

ἵππος, ὁ: horse 1319 (always ἄλογο elsewhere in the poem).

ἴσος: similar, equal 2580; cf. ἴσια 2101.

ἱστία, ἡ: fire 1595, 1628, 2069, 2247; with synizesis ἱστιὰ 1576, 1596. (From AG ἑστία «hearth». See also στιά).

ἱστόρια, ἡ = ἱστορία: story E 54; the accentuation is due to influence of Italian *storia*, cf. στόρια Georg. Than. 520 ἱστόριες Thes. 94, ἱστόρια Triv. Hist. title of 1683 ed., and in the title of the 1654 ed. of the *Rimada.*

καβαλάρης: horseman 248, pl. καβαλάροι 1267; with dissimilation καβελάρης 873 (for this form cf. Chron. Mor. 5752, Chron. Turc. 28 *et passim*, Katsaïtis Kl. II 61; on the word in general see Erot. Gloss.).

καβαλικεύω: ride a horse 306a, 919, 1182, etc.

καβελάρης: see καβαλάρης.

κάβουρας: crab, pl. καβοῦροι 168.

καθάριος: clean, pure, distinguished, excellent 498, 508, 852, 2000, 2884; adv. καθάρια: clearly, distinctly 157, 218, 1657, 1886.

καθαρός: pure; phrase μὲ καθαρὴ καρδία 632, μὲ καθαρὰ καρδία 747, 865.

καθαροσύνη, ἡ: purity, independence, liberty (?) 2891. (The text may be corrupt; perhaps λευθεροσύνη should be read).

κάθε or *κάθα:* every, generally with εἷς / ἕνας: καθαεὶς 332, τὸ κάθε ἕνα 1404, ὁ καθεεὶς 1653, καθένας 1021, 1583, etc. Also καθ' ἡμέρα 1020.

καθίζω: sit *passim*, aor. ἐκάθισα or ἔκατσα (ἐκάτσε 615. This form also occurs in Chron. Mor. 3228, cf. ἐκάτσα Choumnos ms 122); κάθομαι is also found.

καίγω: burn 1634, 2628, aor. ἔκαψα etc. 1285, 2254, 2298.

κακιώνω: get angry, p.p.p. κακιωμένος: angry, rancoured, on bad terms 2405.

κακοπαθῶ: intrans. (with p.p.p. with

active meaning) suffer misfortune, undergo hardship 477, 1746, 2477, 2635.

κακόφρονος: evil-intentioned, voc. κακόφρονε 825 (reformed ⟨ κακόφρων).

καλαμιώνας: bed of reeds 1593.

καλεστική, ἡ: invitation 2723 (more normally κάλεσμα; derived from καλεστής, perhaps from the phrase καλεστικὴ ἐπιστολή. The word also occurs in Thes. 4647).

κάλλιος: better, (with def. art.) best 497, 560, 1453, 2442; phrase διὰ τὸ κάλλιο σας: for your own good 659.

καλλιότερος: better, fem. καλλιοτέρα 1965. The more learned καλύτερος is also found 2443.

καλογεναμένος: well-made 2578.

καλοκαρδίζω: intrans. be heartened 1801 (Erot. Gloss.).

καμήλι, τό: camel 1039 (generally καμήλα in MG see Dimitrakos Lex.).

καμπόσος: some 145, 1086, 1997 (see Erot. Gloss.).

κανακίζω: caress, pet 681 (see Erot. Gloss.).

κανενείς = κανένας: one 848, 1544, 2480, etc.

κανισκεύω: give a present to someone (with acc. of person) 2178, 2190 (Erot. Gloss.; see also κανισκίζω).

κανίσκι, τό: present 242, 724, 2396, 2568 (Erot. Gloss. etc.; the word is very common in medieval Greek).

κανισκίζω: give a present (with acc. of person) 612, 2378. (Usual form is κανισκεύω *q.v.*)

καρκαρῶ: cackle (of birds), aor. pass. καρκαρήθη 208 (by assimilation ⟨ κακαρῶ / κακαρίζω). The form καρκαρίζω is cited by Zois Lex., and occurs in Koron. 86 μηδὲν καρκαρίσῃς).

κασίδι, τό: helmet 959 (Erot. Gloss.).

κάστρο, τό: fortress 260, 421, 534, etc., pl. κάστρη 1050, 1420.

καταβάλλω: lay low, humiliate 664.

καταβοδώνω: see κατευοδώνω.

καταλεπτῶς: in detail 1044, 2230.

καταλύω: destroy, aor. pass. ἐκαταλύθη 209 (Erot. Gloss.).

καταντῶ: come to, arrive at 1663, 2049 (Dimitrakos Lex.; cf. καταντίζω Chron. Mor. 766, Thes. I 14 see Kriaras, *BNJ* 19, 1966, 79).

κατασταίνω: put down, reduce, p.p.p. καταστημένους 2413 (κατασταίνω / καθιστῶ normally means «to make something something» with a predicate; with the present passage may be compared, Katsaïtis Kl. II 658: Μὰ ἐγὼ σοῦ λέγω, 'Ανάπλι κουρσεμένο, | πῶς ἦσουνε καὶ πῶς καταστημένο | τώρα σὲ βλέπω ... and Belis. 483 τὸ πῶς τὸν ἐκατέστησεν ὁ βασιλεὺς ὁ μέγας).

κατατάσσω: subdue, conquer 246, 1061, 1264 (Erot. Gloss.).

καταφιλῶ: cover with kisses 2200.

κάτεργο, τό: galley 17, 20, 319, etc.

κατευοδώνω: escort, grant a fair journey to 532; passive, καταβοδώνομαι (with assimilation): succeed 1317. (Cf. κατευοδώνω / -ομαι Chron. Mor. 2131, 3646, 8547: to have good success; Mach. 68^{29} νὰ κατευοδωθῇ: set off on a journey favourably; Katsaïtis If. V 141 καταβόδωσέ μας: «grant us a fair journey» etc.).

κατόνα, ἡ: equipment, baggage esp. of an army 924, 2212. The poet appears to distinguish κατόνα from the more usual κατούνα: tent, encampment (*q.v.*); κατούνα in the sense of equipment is recorded by Du Cange (for the metonymy see Triant. Lehnw. 94) but the form κατόνα is not found elsewhere. It may be ifluenced by Venetian *canton* or it may be merely a poetic licence, since in both places where the form occurs it constitutes a rhyme-word.

κατορθώνω: trans. succeed in making,

fashion, create(?) 95.

κάτου = κάτω: 133, 2414.

κατούνα, ἡ: encampment, tent 2496. (The word is very common in medieval texts e.g. Chron. Mor. 1458, etc. Mach. 488[16], etc., Achill. 764, Imb. 417, Lib. 29, etc.).

κάτωθεν: below 1406.

κάψα, ἡ: heat; with double accentuation — κάψά 'καμε 2565.

κάψις, ἡ: heat, acc. κάψιν 1596 (⟨ AG καῦσις; AG morphology is imposed on MG phonology in the form κάψιν).

κελεύω: order 2251.

κελί, τό: cell, room 2729, 2765, 2775.

κένδρος, ὁ: cedar 2652. (⟨ κέδρος. The MG form κέντρος is perhaps phonetically identical; for it, see Dimitrakos Lex. and Andriotis Lex. The form κένδρος also occurs in Cor. Pret. cedro, κένδρος and in Thes. 9485 κένδρους, ὁπού 'ραχλιασμὸς ποτὲ οὐ σέβη σ' αὐτούς).

κεντρί, τό: sting (of an insect), pl. κεντριά 2058.

κερδαίνω and *κερδίζω:* win, profit, gain; from κερδαίνω pres. 1977, 1986, aor. (ἐ)κέρδαισα 352, 1920, 2392, 2523; from κερδίζω aor. (ἐ)κέρδισα 1348, 2125. (For the aor. ἐκέρδαισα cf. Erot. I 203, 1096, etc. Katsaïtis If. II 591, 729, etc.).

κερένη: irregular fem. of κερένιος, waxen 96.

κέρινος: waxen 13.

κερνάτορας, ὁ: cup-bearer, attendant who serves the wine 1161 (κερνάτωρ, Du Cange).

κερνῶ: serve wine to someone 1157; with acc. of person 1158, 1159; with gen. of person 2758.

κεφάλη, ἡ: head 113 (for the form and accentuation see commentary *ad loc.*; elsewhere the usual forms ἡ κεφαλὴ and τὸ κεφάλι are found e.g. 959, 1007; 127, 169, 433, etc.).

κηντηνάρι, τό: a hundred pounds, a quintal 492, 507, 2542, 2870, 2883 (by assimilation ⟨ κεντηνάρι(ν) ⟨ Lat. centenarium — see Triant. Lehnw. 15). The assimilated form is found in Dig. Akr. (E) 992, 995 Def. Log. Did. 456, Apokop. 272, Sklav. 281, while κεντηνάρι occurs in Dig. Akr. (G) 1785, Sachlikis (Papad.) 464, 481, 701, Pred. 2. 115, etc. κεντηνάρι is still used in Crete and the Peloponnese to refer to hundreds of certain commodities, see Martha Aposkitou, «Κρητοπελοποννησιακά», *Kr. Chron.* 9, 1955, 210.

κηρύττω: proclaim 823 (Attic for κηρύσσω).

κιβούρι, τό: coffin, tomb 926, 1296. 1902 (Erot. Gloss., Dimitrakos Lex.).

κλαίω and *κλαίγω:* weep; the form with γ is more common, 148, 704, 1340, etc.; κλαίω occurs at 2370, 2806, aor. ἔκλαυσα 280, 2020, ἔκλαψαν 2908.

κλινάρι, τό: bed 129, 2315.

κλωθογυρίζω: walk around 189. (The word also occurs in Dellap. 12; see MNE I 478, Koukoules, *Νεοελλ. λέξεων καὶ φράσεων παλαιοτέρα μνεία*, p. 48 and Dimitrakos Lex.).

κοιτώνας, ὁ: bed-chamber 2331, 2347.

κολόνα, ἡ: column 616, 1579.

κολύμπου: adv. by swimming 1679; see commentary *ad loc.*

κόλφος, ὁ: bosom, fold of a garment 1160, 1161, 1164. See also κόρφος.

κόμης, ὁ: captain of a ship 610 (⟨ Lat. comes; cf. Chron. Mor. 2190 (H) καὶ ὥρισε τὸν κόμιτα, τοῦ κατέργου τὸν κύρην, | εἰς τοὺς Κορφοὺς διαβαίνοντα ἐκεῖ νὰ τὸν ἀφήκουν, Apokop. 327, Belth. 1228, etc.).

κομπώνω: deceive, trick 816, 888, 1470, 1707, 1815 (See Erot. Gloss. and Dimitrakos Lex.).

'κόνα, ἡ = εἰκόνα: portait, picture 2348.

κονδαρέα, ἡ: a blow from a lance 249, see commentary *ad loc.* κονταριὰ 1880, pl. κονδαρὲς 842. For the irrational archaism see on κονδάρι.

κονδάρι, τό: lance 438, 441, 488 *et passim*; the more correct κοντάρι occurs only once 844. The δ in κονδάρι is a false archaism, perhaps on the analogy of κονδύλι. See Introd. p. 64.

'κονομῶ: get hold of, find 1093, p.p.p. 'κονομημένα: equipped, prepared 2518 (for similar uses of (οἰ)κονομῶ, cf. Apokop. 348, Choumnos (M) VIII 103).

κονταρά, κοντάρι: see κονδαρέα, κονδάρι.

κονταροκτυπῶ: fight with a lance, joust 1874 (see Erot. Gloss. s.v. κονταροχτυπῶ).

κοπανιά, ἡ: blow (from a weapon) 960, pl. κοπανὲς 856, 877 (for κοπανὲς cf. Thes. I 71.4, 73.3; on the word in general see Erot. Gloss.).

κοπιάζω: toil, work hard 2863, p.p.p. κοπιασμένος: worn out with fatigue 1284, 2604.

κόπτω: cut 1611, 1618, 2504.

κορκόνδειλος, ὁ: crocodile, acc. pl. κορκόνδειλους 2081. (For the metathesis and epenthesis of ν see Introd. p. 64f. Du Cange lists a form κορκόνιλος from the Life of St. Pachomius no. 45, where the scribe may well have intended to write κορκόνδειλος).

κορμάκι, τό: wretched body (of Alexander's corpse) 2871, 2927.

κορνιακτός, ὁ: dust 876, 1090, 1091 (⟨κονιορτὸς — see Chatzidakis in *Ath.* 22, 1910, 205 and *Glotta* 3, 70).

κορόνα, ἡ: crown 864.

κόρφος, ὁ: bosom, fold of a garment 40, 63. See also κόλφος.

κοσμοκράτωρ, ὁ: ruler of the world 2819 (Dimitrakos Lex.).

κουδουνισμός, ὁ: ringing, clash (of metal) 1213 (⟨ AG κωδωνισμός; Normal MG is κουδούνισμα).

κουμούνι, τό: republic, commonwealth; government 2892. (Usually of the Republic of Genoa or Venice e.g. Mach. 138[15], 2849. etc. Dellap. 1256, but here of Rhodes. See Triant. Lehnw. 27).

κούπα, ἡ: cup, goblet 369, 370, 1159, 1164, 1168, 1181, 1442, 2887.

κούρσεμα, τό: plunder, gen. pl. κουρσεμάτων 1318.

κουρσεύω: pillage 995, 1275, 1774.

κουρσιμιό, τό: spoils or prisoners, pl. κουρσιμιὰ 1433 (⟨ κουρσιμαῖος which Du Cange gives, supported by quotations from Nic. Chon., Bonn, 779, 24 and 10. Canan., Bonn, 464, 9. The latter refers to τὰ κουρσιμαῖα, ἤγουν αἰχμαλώτους).

κουρτεσία, ἡ: courtesy 2732 (but perhaps here the meaning is «court»).

κράζω: call, summon 15, 99, 107 *et passim.*

κρατάρχης, ὁ: emperor 2437. (The word occurs at Thes. 1514, Alosis Konst. 900, and Choumnos ms 325; see also Dimitrakos Lex.).

κρατημάρα, ἡ: paralysis 376 (⟨ κρατῶ + suffix -μάρα — see Andriotis Lex.; the word appears not to be found elsewhere, but cf. MG κομμάρα, «lassitude»).

κρατίζω = κρατῶ: 1761. (See Erot. Gloss. Other instances of this form are to be found in Def. Log. Did. 211, Choumnos ms 1668, 2223, Katsaïtis If. V 373, *id.* Kl. III 197).

κρατῶ: hold, possess, snatch 286, 369, 1050, 1144, etc.; consider 124d; κρατῶ ὀμπρός: continue, keep going 673.

κρείττων: better, neut. κρεῖττον 2811. (Attic form of AG κρείσσων, also found in Koron. 18).

κρεμνός, ὁ: precipice, cliff 2587 (cf. κρεμνοὺς Chron. Turc. 117. MG γκρε-

μνὸς also occurs in the poem 1549).

κρένω = κρίνω: judge, consider 988, 1478, 1883. (For the phonology, see MNE I 295; κρένω in MG often has the meaning of «speak»—see Dimitrakos Lex.; but here the original meaning is preserved, as also in Def. Sus. 64, 174, Katsaïtis Kl. I 433, II 666, etc.).

κρίνω: judge, consider 1024, 2027; κρίνομαι: be tormented 1360 (see Erot. Gloss.).

κριτής, ὁ: judge, pl. κριτάδες 1477 (this plural also in Def. Sus. 60 *et passim*).

κρούσταλλο, τό: ice 1189, 1225.

κρούω: strike, phrase πόλεμον κρούω: do battle, πόλεμον γιὰ νὰ κρούξουν 1857, ἐκρούσανε τὸν πόλεμον 1859.

κρύβομαι: intrans. hide, aor. ἐκρυφθήκανε 954, κρυβηθῆκαν 1644. (For aor. κρύβησα -ήθηκα, cf. ἐκρύβησαν Koron. 6, κρυβήθη Batrach. 467, νὰ κρυβηθῆ Log. Par. 62, ἐκρυβήθησαν Pikat. 490).

κτείνω: kill 279.

κτῆμα, τό: beast of burden, gen. pl. κτημάτων 847.

κτίσις, ἡ: all creation, the world 698.

κτίστης, ὁ: mason, pl. κτιστάδες 561, 579. (This plural quoted by Du Cange from Crusius' *Turcograecia* p. 255).

κτύπος, ὁ: crashing noise 1213.

κτῶμαι: acquire, possess, pluperf. ἐκέκτητο E 25.

κυβερνῶ: govern, command 2222, 2864, p.p.p. κυβερνημένα: under orders, ready for action, well-trained (?) 2173; p.p.p. κυβερνισμένα: broken in (of animals) 1039.

κύρ, ὁ: apocopated form of κύριος 333.

κυρά, ἡ: lady, mistress, madam 131, 143, E 39, pl. κυράδες E 37.

λαθαίνω: see λανθάνω.

λαχταρῶ: (of the heart) palpitate, be anxious 2405 (Dimitrakos Lex. s.v. λαχταρῶ).

λαλιά, ἡ: speech 16.

λαλῶ: speak, talk, play (of instruments) 846, 1673, 1678, 1710, 2106, 2113, 2096 (*ex corr.*).

λαμβάνω: take, receive 1159, aor. ἔλαβα 106, 2124, 2944, etc.

λανθάνω: escape one's notice 817, *pass.* λανθάνομαι: be mistaken 816, aor. ἐλαθάστης: you were deluded 1057 (a similar form ἐλαθάστη in Chron. Turc. 111 — phonological development from ἐλανθάσθην etc.); from λαθαίνω (cf. μαθαίνω ⟨ μανθάνω) λαθαίνουν 1057.

λαρνάκι, τό: coffin 2872, 2928 (λαρνάκι generally means in MG a cooking vessel while the meaning «coffin» is proper to λάρναξ — see Dimitrakos Lex.).

λεμοσύνη, ἡ: mercy 654 (⟨ ἐλεημοσύνη; the form λεμοσύνη is found in the Lexica of Du Cange and Meursius and occurs in Georg. Than. 485, Thes. 85; ἐλεμοσύνη is found in Mach. 74[26], etc., Thes. 57, etc.).

λεύθερος = ἐλεύθερος: free 1300.

λευθερώνω = ἐλευθερώνω: 1298, 1898.

λέφας, ὁ: elephant, acc. sing. λέφα 2071, nom. pl. λέφες 2335, acc. pl. λέφαντες 1826, λέφαντας 1831, λέφας 1853, λεφάδες 2569 (⟨ ἐλέφας *q.v.* The forms with aphaeresis are very common in the text and so have been written without an apostrophe).

λεφάντειος: of an elephant, λεφαντείων (sc. ὀδόντων): ivory 2322.

λεφάντινος: ivory 2181, 2187, 2886.

λέω, ὁ: lion 2919, acc. pl. λέοντες 2059 (λέω ⟨ λέων; λέων is found in popular poetry e.g. Achill. 1303, 1714, but more common are λέοντας, λιόντας and λιοντάρι).

λιγαίνω: intrans. decrease, diminish 1606 (see Erot. Gloss.).

λίτρα, ἡ: «pound» in weight 2180, 2190, 2585.

λογάρι, τό: treasure 2180, 2320 (see Erot. Gloss.).

λογαριάζω: reckon, take into account, consider, intend, aim for 72, 434, 939, 942, 1344, 1370, 2718.

λογίζομαι: reckon, consider 2522.

λογοῦμαι: be reckoned as, be considered, be called 861, 2285, 2344, second pers. sing. λογᾶσαι 1776, 1777 (Erot. Gloss.).

λοιπὸν and *τὸ λοιπόν:* well, then, *passim*; often redundant; other forms found are τὸ λοιπονὲ 1531, 2673, τὸ λοιπονὲς 1431 and τὸ λοιπονίς 1203 (for this last form cf. Stathis III 554, Erof. Afier. 53, I 1, Katsaïtis If. II 679, III 593, etc.).

λοντάρι, τό: lion 235 (⟨ λιοντάρι; the form with loss of ι occurs in Pent. G. 24.9, cf. λοντάριον Thes. 4882, λονταρόπουλλον *ibid.* I 43.1, λοντάριν Vedram. Gyn. 9, and as a place-name Λοντάρι Chron. Turc. 102).

λυχνάρι, τό: (dim. of λύχνος) lamp 97.

λωλιά, ἡ: folly, stupidity 1014 (cf. late-Byz. G p. 286. 30 λωλίαν; other nouns from λωλὸς are λωγάγρα, λωλάδα and λωλαμάρα).

λωλός: foolish, stupid 124a, 1885 (see Erot. Gloss.).

μά: but 560, 636, 820 *et passim*.

μά: particle with acc., in the name of, by 1169.

μαγεία and *μαγειά, ἡ:* magic, magic arts, magic spell 9, 44, 73, 91, etc.

μαγεύω: perform magic, act as μάγος 215.

μάγερας and *μάγερος, ὁ:* cook, acc. μάγερα 1703; μάγερος 1704, 1707, 1729.

μαζώνω: gather together 687, 821; pass. μαζώνομαι intrans.: gather 692, aor. ἐμαζώχθησαν 489, 1267, ἐμαζώκτησαν 2265, ἐμαζώκτηκε 2789 (cf. ἐμαζώκτησαν Chron. Turc. 27 *et passim*, ἐμαζωκτήκασι Katsaïtis If. Prol. 137; see also Erot. Gloss.).

μαθητεύω: instruct, teach 258; pass. μαθητεύομαι: learn, find out 316 (μαθητεύω, trans., is Biblical and Patristic — see Lampe Lex. μαθητεύγομαι occurs in Cretan with the meaning «become known» — see Erot. Gloss. The meaning «learn, find out» has otherwise been found only in Minotou Param. A 388 ἐμαθητεύτηκε).

μαθητής, ὁ: pupil 1994, gen. pl. μαθητάδων 298.

μακελεῖο, τό: slaughter-house; phrase τοῦ μακελείου: destined for the slaughter 738, cf. Erot. II 1243 and see Erot. Gloss.

μακρὺς and *μακρός:* long; from μακρύς, neut. μακρὺ 2639, 2640; from μακρὸς masc., acc. pl. μακροὺς 1556, fem. acc. pl. μακρὰς 2618, adv. μακρά: far off 1782.

μαλέα and *μαλία, ἡ:* strife, war, battle; μαλέα 22, 808, 824, 2461; μαλία 502, 1217. (⟨ ὁμαλία; μαλιὰ is the commonest form — see Erot. Gloss. μαλία is also found in Thes. 293, 4145, 5338 and Choumnos ms 845, 914, 1808; μαλέα also occurs in Thes. I Hyp. 9-10 παραγιαλέαν-μαλέαν. It must be treated as a false resolution of -ιὰ on the analogy of βασιλιὰς ⟨ βασιλέας see Introd. p. 61).

μαλλιάζω: p.p.p. μαλλιασμένος: hairy 1584.

μάλλιο: adv. rather 830 (⟨ μᾶλλον, which is also found, at vv. 1954 2539 — with perhaps influence of Ital. *meglio*. See Erot. Gloss. s.v. μάλλιος, which is the usual Cretan form. μάλλιο also occurs in Def. Log. Did. 178).

μαλωτά, τά: strife, quarrelling 2420 (< μαλώνω on the model of the many adjectives in -τὸς derived from verbs; but the word is not found in any other text).

μανιώνω: middle / pass. μανιώνομαι: be angry, rage 238, 1002, 1747, 2691; cf. μανιωμένος Anth. Char. 295, 19.

μαντάτο, τό: pl. news 396, 421, 426.

μαντατοφόρος, ὁ: messenger 640, 674, 712, 1140. (The word is common in med. popular texts: Chron. Mor. 300, Achill. 386, Erot. IV 195, etc.).

μαντεία and *μαντειά, ἡ*: divination 12, 36, 37, 269.

μάντειο and *μαντειό, τό*: oracle 292, 295 (< μαντεῖον. The accentuation μαντειὸ is in accordance with MG phonetic laws, but that of μάντειο is irregular).

μαντεύω: consult an oracle 292; more commonly medio-pass. μαντεύομαι 290a, 315 (see Dimitrakos Lex. s.v. μαντεύω).

μάντης, ὁ: diviner, seer, pl. μάντες 666.

μαρτυρίο, τό: evidence 1064. (For μαρτύριο, with the accentuation of μαρτυρία or of dat. μαρτυρίῳ).

μάστορας, ὁ: master-builder 589 (see Erot. Gloss.).

μαστορεύω: make skilfully, p.p.p. μαστορεμένα 2338.

ματοχυσία, ἡ: bloodshed 854 (< αἱματοχυσία: the form with aphaeresis is also found in Katsaïtis Kl. II 294).

ματσούκι, τό: club, stick 676 (< Ital. *mazuco* — see G. Meyer, *Neugr. Stud.* 4.51; see also Konomos Lex. s.v.).

μαχούμενος: fighting 2185 (on the participles in -ούμενος see Thumb § 234.2).

μεγαλόκερος: with large horns 112 (<AG μεγαλόκερως, for which normal MG would be μεγαλοκέρατος).

μεγαλύνω: middle μεγαλύνομαι: boast of, pride oneself on (+ dat.) 1795 (see LSJ; the use with the dat. is known only from Aeschylus).

μέγας and *μεγάλος:* both types are common; superlative μέγιστος 645; adv. μεγάλως 341, 419, 749, etc. and μεγάλα 2432, E 2.

μελανώδης: blackish, neut. μελανώδη (?) 2889.

μέλλω: be fated, due 276b, 2128; τὸ μελλάμενο: the future 1241 (for τὸ μελλάμενο cf. Katsaïtis If. II 317, 550, etc., Chasis p. 56 and compare τὰ μελλούμενα Erot. IV 141).

μέμφομαι: blame, reproach 715, 716, 1484, aor. ἐμέφθη 287, 990 (*ex corr.*).

μέν: on the one hand 2799; τοὺς μὲν ... τοὺς δὲ ...: some ... others ... 2925.

μερασιά, ἡ: share, portion 784 (< μοιρασία with influence of μέρος etc. Not found elsewhere. For μοιρασία see Dimitrakos Lex., and Pangalos s.v. μοιρασά).

μερέα, ἡ: side 250, 2034, 2531; with synizesis μεριὰ 954, 2099, 2607; with resolution of the synizesis μερία 343, 634, 866, 1666 (μερέα is the earliest form, giving rise to common Greek μεριά, East Cretan μερὰ — see Erot. Gloss. — and in idioms like Zakynthian which admit only of -ία, μερία; see Konomos Lex.

μερτικό(ν), τό: portion, share 2826; ἀπὸ τὸ μερτικόν του perhaps «of his own volition» 1992. (On the word see Erot. Gloss.; other instances are to be found in Def. Sus. 334, Chron. Turc. 67, 103, Apokop. 296 etc.).

μερώνω: see ἡμερώνω.

μέσα, ἐκ: out of + gen. 173, + acc. 210, 1593, 2775.

μέση, ἡ: middle 972, 1835, 1874, 2322, etc.; waist 2658; phrase βάνω στὴ μέση: surround 1522.

μεταγεννοῦμαι: be born again, be changed (?) 276c (μεταγεννάομαι be born again, LSJ; otherwise the word is unknown and may be the result of corruption).

μετάγνωση: change of mind, repentance 1888.

μετανώθω: repent, regret, aor. ἐμετάνωσε 1287, 2514. (-γνώθω > -νώθω > -νιώθω see Erot. p. 406 note on I 2144 and Gloss. s.v. μετανιώθω. The form μετανώθω / -ωσα also occurs in Choumnos ms 1337, 2302, Mach. 212^{9}, 166^{22}, Thes. I 88.5, etc.).

μετρητά, τά: ready cash 508. (Perhaps this is one of the earliest occurrences of the MG expression).

μηδέ: nor 2126, 2694 (used as equivalent to οὔτε).

μηδέν: not at all; after νὰ 158, 520, 580, 688, etc.; with subj. to form negative imp. 942, 1075, 1250, 1381, etc.

μήλιγγας, ὁ: temple 370 (Erot. Gloss.).

μηνῶ: inform, send word, aor. (ἐ)μήνησα 203, 327, 428, 994, 1015 *et passim* (Erot. Gloss.).

μήπως: lest, in case 440, 558, 1640; μήπως καί: what if ... ? 149.

μητέρα, ἡ: mother 362, 386, 441 *et passim*, gen. μητρὸς 378, 389, etc., dat. μητρὶ used as acc. 464, 2236, 2272, as voc. 2295.

μηχανεύομαι: act cunningly, plot 1516 (cf. Chron. Mor. 849 οἱ Φράγκοι ἐμηχανεύτησαν).

μηχανή, ἡ: crafty device, pl. wiles 1757.

μίλι(ον), τό: mile 2622 (see Dimitrakos Lex.).

μιλιά, ἡ: (faculty of) speech 1218.

μισεύω: depart, leave 319, 429 *et passim* (see G. Meyer, *Neugr. Studien* 3.45).

μνέ(γ)ω: swear 142, 1363, 1364 (see Erot. Gloss. μνέγω and ἀμνόγω. Cf. ὀμνέω).

μνημόσυνον, τό: remembrance, memory 2888.

μνημούρι, τό: grave, tomb 1295 (Dimitrakos Lex.).

μόδι, τό: measurement of weight 2890 (< μόδιον < Lat. modius cf. μόδιν Mach. 436^{18}, 608^{3}, Prod. 2.420).

μοιάζω: resemble + gen. 234, 821; with σὰν or ὥσπερ 2071, 2078; impers. μοιάζει: it seems 1132.

μοιράζω: separate, divide 1750.

μοιχεύω: commit adultery E 28; pass. of the woman, aor. ἐμοιχεύθη 288 (cf. LSJ).

μολογῶ: confess, reveal 2362; the usual ὁμολογῶ also occurs 2785.

μόν: immediately, just then (like μόλις) 438; but 522, 752, 1831; μὸν νά: as long as, provided that 710, 1007. This apocopated form, sometimes (but unnecessarily) written with an apostrophe, also occurs in Def. Log. Did. 143, 656, Triv. Tag. 129, *id.* Hist. 313, Thes. I 39.7, Chron. Mor. *passim*, Sklav. 32, 72, etc., Ger. Kor. 636, Fortun. interm. 150, etc. See also μόνε.

μοναξά, ἡ: solitude 2117; μοναξία 2421. (For μοναξὰ see Erot. Gloss.; it also occurs in Thes. 3911 and Choumnos ms 1663).

μόνε: only 120, 155, 464 (see Erot. Gloss.).

μονή, ἡ: dwelling-place (of a god) 2611; position, station (of a star) 2913.

μόνο(ν): only, but (conj.) 717, 1636, 1666, 1783, etc.

μονοκράτωρ, ὁ: sole ruler 306 (cf. Prod. 1.33, Sophocles Lex.).

μορφίζω: intrans. be or become beautiful 2140 (for the intransitive use of the verb, see Erot. Gloss. *s.v.*).

μουλώνω cower, huddle up, in fear, p.p.p. μουλωμένοι: cowering 880, 1624 (Erot. Gloss.).

μπασία: see ἐμπασία.

μπιστοσύνη, ἡ: confidence, trust 800; ἐμπιστοσύνη 2867.

μποδίζω: hinder, prevent 1762.

μπρός: see ὀμπρός.

μπυρίζω: set on fire, burn 2254, 2298

(see Dimitrakos Lex. and L-S s.v. ἐμπυρίζω. Cf. MG ἐμπυρεύω).

μυρίζω: intrans. smell 1607, 1611, 2279; anoint 2926a, 2927 (AG μυρίζω anoint, MG μυρώνω).

νεκροκρέβατον, τό: bier 1401.

νεκρώνω: mortify, p.p.p. νεκρωμένος: dead 350.

νησάκιν, τό: dim. islet 2002.

νὸς = νοῦς: mind, spirit 1231 (for the form νὸς see Introd. p. 62 f.).

νοῶ: contrive, propose 1693 (see *app. crit. ad loc.*

ντροπή and *τροπή* (?), *ἡ*: shame 2546, 2524.

νύκτα, ἡ: night, nom. 878, acc. 118, 124 *passim*, gen. νυκτὸς 2055; AG nom. νὺξ 1958, 1959.

νυκτερίδα, ἡ: bat 2083.

νυμφικός: bridal 1500.

νύφη, ἡ: any female relation by marriage, daughter-in-law, sister-in-law 2380, 2385, 2394.

ξαιρέτως: particularly, specially 1512 (⟨ ἐξαιρέτως).

ξανοίγω: see, observe (see Erot. Gloss.) 1642.

ξαρμάτωτος: unarmed 2112 (Erot. Gloss., Katsaïtis If. V 560, etc.).

ξὲ = ἐκ: see Introd. p. 83.

ξεγνοιάζω: be free of care, p.p.p. ξεγνοιασμένος: care-free 1583 (Erot. Gloss.).

ξεγνοιαστός: free of cares 2054.

ξε(κ)δικῶ: see ἐξεκδικῶ.

ξενοχάραγος: strange 2060, 2284. (The word also occurs in Call. 1242, Dig. Akr. (E) 1632, Flor. 1462, Lib. S 1968, etc. Pol. Tr. 72, 630, and Thes. 2223, 6713, Georg. Than. 104, 214 and in the form ἐξενοχάραγος Chron. Mor. 3874, Lib. 189 — see Schmitt in the Glossary to Chron. Mor. for an etymology).

ξεσπαθώνω: intrans. draw one's sword 373, 1346, p.p.p. ξεσπαθωμένοι: with swords drawn 1400.

ξετρέχω: intrans. make an attack, go beyond the bounds (?) 1137. (Usual meaning is «pursue» — see Erot. Gloss. — but other meanings are also found: «follow» Koron. 8, «search high and low for» Katsaïtis If. I 188, etc., «save» Choumnos ms 137. Here the meaning seems closest to that of AG ἐκτρέχω «go beyond the bounds»).

ξεύρω = ξέρω: know 61, 108 *passim*; also ἠξεύρω 6, 9 *passim*; MG forms are found: ἤξερες 267, ξέρεις 2436.

ξεφλῶ: finish off 97 (⟨ ἐξοφλῶ ⟨ AG ὀφλισκάνω. MG ξοφλῶ «pay a debt», «finish with»).

'ξήντα = ἐξήντα: 1562, 2570.

'ξίζω = ἀξίζω: 3946.

ξορθώνω: arrange, fix up 991. (The word occurs in Thes. 2186 with the same meaning and in Stavrinos 1008 = «reorganize». Compare also Cypriot ξορτώννω «succeed», Cypr. Erot. 27.14 and Mach. 478^{3}. Both are from AG ἐξορθῶ set up, correct).

ξορίζω: banish, exile 1780, 1782 (Erot. Gloss.).

ξυλόκαστρο, τό: wooden castle 911. (The word is known to Du Cange and Meursius *qq. v.* who also quote from Thes. I: καὶ παρευθὺς γὰρ ὅρισε ξυλόκαστρα νὰ ποίσουν. The usual meaning in Byzantine writers is the fortified part of a warship; see Sophocles Lex. Another meaning — a type of wooden siege engine — occurs in Mach. 482^{36}).

ξυστερνός: later 1888 (⟨ ἐξ + ὑστερινὸς cf. ξύστερα Mach. 400^{23}, Cypr. Erot. 125^{36}. See commentary *ad loc.*).

ὁ: def. art. (for forms in use see Introd. p. 65); as rel. pronoun only in accusative, τὸ 482, 825, 1414, 1458, etc., τὰ 551, 716, 2438, 2470, 2654, τὴν 1313, 1349, 1515.

ὀγλήγορα: see γλήγορα.

ὄγοιος: = ὅποιος 364. (Variously spelt, the form is quite well known in texts and Lexicographers e.g. Thes. 5366 ὁ καθεὶς ὄγοιον ἀγαπᾶ ἀπὲ τοὺς δυὸ Θηβαίους, Koron. 90 τιμὴν ὄγοιος 'γαπᾶ πολλὰ οὐδὲν κοιμᾶται. See Du Cange Lex. s.v. ὄγειος, Lang Gloss., Konomos Lex., MNE II 596, Thumb § 150 n. 2).

ὀδύρομαι: wail, mourn 2802, 2806.

ὅθεν: when 250, 1649; ὅθεν κι ἄν: wherever 1222, 2030. (The usual meaning of ὅθε(ν) is of course «whence», and by extension «where». For the temporal use, as here, cf. Chron. Turc. 34, 119).

οἶδα: know E 18.

οἶνος, ὁ: wine 2738.

ὀκ = ἐκ: 37, 41, 63, 143, 400, etc. For the various forms and usages of these prepositions see Introd. p. 83.

ὀλιγούτσικος: very little, very few 183; see commentary *ad loc.* and Erot. Gloss.

ὁλόγομος: completely full 2175 (cf. Ermon. 651 ὁλόγομος σελήνη. The commoner forms are ὁλόγεμος and ὁλόγιομος, see Dimitrakos Lex.).

ὁλόγυρα: all around 582, 775, 1126, etc.

ὅλος: all *passim*, gen. pl. ὁλῶν 660, ὁλωνῶν 839, 'λωνῶν 1106. See οὗλος.

ὁλοχρυσώνω: gild completely, p.p.p. ὁλοχρυσωμένοι 2624.

ὀλπίδα, ἡ: hope 652, 1056.

ὀλπίζω: hope, trust, expect 124d, 704, 1005, 1077, 1797, 1882, 2478, 2508; ἐλπίζω 709, 1242. (Erot. Gloss. etc.).

ὁμάδι: together 138, 1552 (see Erot. Gloss.).

ὁμάδα, ἡ: group, band, company 425, 490, 850, 1211, 1510, 2554, gen. ὁμάδος 730.

ὁμιλία, ἡ: talk, perhaps here magic spell 140. See also μιλιά.

ὀμνέω: swear 827 (⟨ ὄμνυμι. This forms also occurs in Chron. Mor. P 7930, Thes. 4127, etc. and as ὀμνέγω in Koron. 96, Gad. 390, Choumnos ms 1580, Thes. 686, etc. See also μνέ(γ)ω).

ὁμονοιάζω: be in accord with, (conspire with) 822 (⟨ AG ὁμονοῶ cf. νοιάζω. Usually μονοιάζω — see Erot. Gloss., Dimitrakos Lex.).

ὀμορφάδα, ἡ: beauty 2309 (Dimitrakos Lex.).

ὀμορφαρδινιασμένος: beautifully arrayed 515 (from ὄμορφα and ὀρδινιασμένος).

ὀμορφαρματωμένος: splendidly armed 493, 2574.

ὀμορφιά, ἡ: beauty 1124, 1294; also ἐμορφιὰ 2326.

ὄμορφος: beautiful, fine, superb etc. 474, 1296, 1902, etc.; adv. ὄμορφα 837, 1166, etc.; ἔμορφος 724, 1388, 2626, E32, adv. ἔμορφα 530; εὔμορφος 2158, 2331, adv. εὔμορφα 2004 (On the derivation of ὄμορφος ⟨ ὁ ἔμορφος ⟨ εὔμορφος see MNE I 233).

ὀμορφοσύνη, ἡ: beauty 2104, 2886.

ὀμπρός: as «improper» prep. in front of 70, 148, 447, 448, etc.; as adv.: forward, in front 348, 542, 673, etc.; μπρὸς adv. 1399, τὰ μπρὸς 178; ἐμπρὸς + gen. pronoun 1597.

ὀμπροστά: forward, in front 342; similarly ἐμπροστὰ 2788; ὀμπροστὰ + gen. pronoun: in front of, before 2208.

ὀνεῖρο, τό: for ὄνειρο 665; see commentary *ad loc.*

ὄντα: when 1940. Several other forms of this conjunction occur: ὄνταν 1940, ὀντὰ 2682, ὄντεν 422, besides the usual ὅταν from which they all derive. According to Chatzidakis (MNE II 505) the *ντ* is due to the influence of εἶντα, but it may from

όντας, the participle of the verb «to be». For όντα cf. Chron. Turc. 58, 123, Thes. 1203, etc.; for όνταν cf. Def. Sus. 238, Choumnos ms 2068, Achel. 163, etc.; for όντὰ cf. όντὰν Achel. 730 and for όντεν cf. Apokop. 126, Choumnos ms 194, 976.

ὀπίσω: adv. behind 347, 412 *passim*; never as an improper preposition.

ὄπισθεν: behind, back 1227, 1400, 1428.

ὁποῖος, (ὁ): rel. pron. who, which 746, 2755; (τ') ὁποῖο(ν) wherefore(?), 738, 2508.

ὁποὺ = πού: rel. pron. *passim*; often combined with verbs e.g. ὁπὄρχετον, ὁπὖναι, ὁπὄπιε etc. See Introd. p. 62 f.

ὀρδινιά, ἡ: order, command, precept 320, 394b, 1097, 2712; without synizesis ὀρδινία 474, 1032, 1854, etc. (see Erot. Gloss.).

ὀρδινιάζω: put in order, array, draw up, command 16, 100, 151 *et passim;* often undergoes aphaeresis e.g. νὰ 'ρδινιάζῃ 16, τὰ 'ρδίνιασε 1501, 'ς Περσίδα 'ρδινιασμένοι 2143.

ὀρέγομαι: desire, wish 110, 651, 1495 (very common in medieval popular texts e.g. Flor. 1334, 1419 Imb. 592, Gad. 72, Apokop. 20, 316, etc.; see also Erot. Gloss.).

ὀρθομαντεία, ἡ: true divination 61 (LSJ).

ὄρθρος, ὁ: dawn 2132 (Dimitrakos Lex.).

ὁρίζω: wish, rule, command etc. 46, 70, 132 *et passim*; often with aphaeresis 'ρίζω 302, 316, 470, etc.; aor. ἔρισε 1502 (based on the form with aphaeresis).

ὁρισμός, ὁ: order, command 771, 1410, 1413, etc.

ὄρνεον, τό: bird (in general), pl. ὄρνεα 583, 587, 1633, 1709; ὄρνια (disyllabic) 1665.

ὀρνίθι: bird (perhaps chicken) 206a, 207, 213.

ὅς: rel. pron., only in fem. acc. sing. ἥν 786a, 798a, 814a, 990a, 1004a.

ὅσος: as much as, as many as 569, 671, 810, etc.; ὅσο νά: until 912.

ὅτι: that 328, 372, etc.; because (= διότι) 22.

οὐ: not 1009, 1016, 1783, 2748, E47; before a vowel οὐκ 242, 342, 1010, 1252, etc.

οὐαί: alas ! 1233; as noun, τὸ οὐαί: lament 1395.

οὐδέ(ν): not 366, 594, 596, 655, etc. (MG δέν); 'δὲ ... 'δέ: neither ... nor 1218, 1506; οὔτε ... οὐδέ: neither ... nor 875, 2614.

οὖλος = ὅλος: 196; see commentary *ad loc.*

οὖν: therefore 2753.

οὐχί: not 1829.

ὀφίδι(ον), τό: snake, pl. ὀφίδια 2038. (Dim. of ὄφις. See also φιδάκι, φιδόπουλο).

παγαίνω = πηγαίνω: *passim.*

παθάνω: suffer, experience 2644; elsewhere the usual παθαίνω is found. (For παθάνω cf. Flor. 469, 473 and see MNE I, 289-90; compare also Cypriot παθθάννω, Cypr. Erot. 29.3).

παιγνίδι, τό: musical instrument 849; see commentary *ad loc.*

παίγνιο, τό: toy, plaything 685.

παιδάκι, τό: little child 691, 752, 766.

παιδάρι, τό: little child 717, 2831.

παῖς, ὁ: child, pl. παῖδες 54a.

παλαιότητα, ἡ: old age E 10.

παλάτι, τό: palace 36, 38, 102, 1143, 1229, 2313, 2659, also pl. παλάτια 1285, 2033, 2138, 2287, 2637 (the plural on the analogy of βασίλεια).

πάλε: again, on the other hand 2503. For πάλε instead of πάλι(ν) (on the analogy of τότε etc. — MNE II 343) cf. Prod. 2.248, Fortun. III 65, Mach. *passim*, Katsaïtis Thy. Prol. 22, 188, etc. And see A. Papadopoulos in Lex. Arch. 3, 74.

παλικαρία and *παλικαριά, ἡ:* bravery 317, 510, 513.

πάμπολυς: very many, n. pl. πάμπολλα 1514 (LSJ).

πανδρεύομαι: get married (of a man), aor. πανδρεύτῃ 359.

παντελῶς: entirely 1250.

πανώριος: very beautiful 2324 (Dimitrakos Lex.).

παρά: prep. + gen.: from 2935; prep. + acc.: in comparison with, contrary to 1777, 2497; conj.: than 1551, 1940, 2812; δὲν ἔν παρὰ νὰ γένῃ: it is bound to happen 265; conj. πρὶν παρὰ νά: before 1494.

παραβάλλω: put side by side, p.p.p παραβαλμένες: drawn up, arrayed 2486.

παραδέρνω: trans. torment 1978. (For this use cf. Lib. 1299 πρόσεχε τὴν καρδίαν σου νὰ μὴν τὴν παραδείρῃ κῦμα τῆς ἀσχολήσεως. The word is generally intransitive — see Erot. Gloss.).

παραθαλασσία, ἡ: sea-shore 537, 540. (Noun formed from fem. of adj. παραθαλάσσιος cf. NT Matt. 4, 13 εἰς Καπερναοὺμ τὴν παραθαλασσίαν. It is also found in Lib. 2694 and Chron. Turc. 44).

παρακάτου = παρακάτω: 1150.

παραλαμβάνω: receive, take charge of 2275; take over from, succeed (someone) 1279.

παραμπρός: further 1640 (Erot. Gloss.).

παράνου: upwards, further up 2613 (< ὑπεράνω).

πάραυτα: at once 212, 228, 371, 499, 1378 (Erot. Gloss.).

παραυτίκα: at once 1634, 2019 (Dimitrakos Lex.; the word is not common in popular texts, but occurs in Thes. I 66.8, Lib. S 1236, E 3702, etc. and Batrach. 153).

πάρδος, ὁ: leopard 2182.

παρευθύς: at once 443, 662, 1704 (Dimitrakos Lex.).

παρθενίζω: prob. belong, befit 1279 (< Ital. appartenere cf. Hist. Lex. s.vv. ἀππαρθενεύω, ἀππαρθενίζω and Hadjioannou, «Περὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ μεσαιωνικῇ καὶ νεωτέρᾳ κυπριακῇ ξένων γλωσσικῶν στοιχείων», *Texte und Forschungen zur byz.-neugr. Phil.* 18, 1936, 66 ἀπαρτενιάζω. A derivation from παρθένος, with the meaning «be young» or something similar, is less probable).

παριδίνω: surrender, hand over 2858 (< παραδίνω with ι apparently on the same analogy as ἀνιμένω, ἀπιλογοῦμαι etc., for which see Chatzidakis in *Ath.* 24, 1912, 29 and 57, unless it is simply a printing error for παραδίνω (?)).

παρρησία, ἡ: freedom of speech, right of approach 2731 (cf. Chron. Turc. 110, εἶχε τόση πολλὴν παρρησίαν εἰς τὸν σουλτάνο. See Lampe Lex. *s.v.* II).

πᾶς: all, neut. πᾶν 143, fem. πᾶσαν 2203, πάσης 646, 730, 1034, pl. πάντες 576, 743, 787, acc. πάντας 1777.

πάσα: indecl. adj. every 137, 550, 791, 1437; with plural noun 2489. (See MNE II 152 and Erot. Gloss.).

πασαείς and *πασαένας:* everyone 840, 946, 1425, 1727; 1938, 2822.

πασάνας: everyone 1789, 2057, 2108, 2338, 2674, 2728, 2800, 2826, 2874.

πατάσσω: strike, crush, overthrow 429, 1202, 1237, 1263 (Erot. Gloss.).

πατήρ, ὁ: father 463, 524, acc. πατὴρ 1533, 2930, gen. πατρὸς 234, 377, 390, 448; elsewhere ὁ πατέρας, etc., gen. πατέρα 629.

πατρικό, τό: patrimony 485 (generally τὰ πατρικὰ — see Dimitrakos Lex.).

πατῶ: tread (on) 403, 1090; arrive, come(?) 1606.

πέβω: send 50, 397, 426, etc. (formed < ἔπε(μ)ψα < AG πέμπω on analogy

of verbs in -εύω. See MNE I 185. πέζω also occurs in Def. Sus. 332, Katsaïtis If. Af. 128, etc.).

πεζεύω: dismount 920, 1108, 1604, 1724, 2026, 2242; with prothetic ἀ-, ἀπεζεύω 949, 1770, 2042 (ἀπεζεύ(γ)ω occurs in Mach. *passim* and in Thes. 4879, Choumnos ms 762, 2638).

πεθυμιά, ἡ: desire 1588 (Erot. Gloss.).

πείθομαι: obey (+ gen.) 390; submit 2550.

πελελός: foolish 3946 (see Erot. Gloss.).

περαζόμενος: only in the phrase (σὲ) (ἡ)μέρες περαζόμενες: one day 207, 331, 395, 2201. See commentary on v. 207, and on the participle form see MNE I 13, Einl. 146.

περηφανῶ: treat with, scorn, disdain 1312 (⟨ p.-c. ὑπερηφανῶ see Dimitrakos Lex. s.v. and MNE I 442, and compare περιφανίζω (sic) with the same transitive meaning in Thes. I 40.4).

περί: prep. concerning esp. in the phrase περὶ τὸ πῶς 6α, 100α, 124α, 258α, etc.; with gen. 222α, 240α; περὶ = παρά: than 1512 (for this substitution cf. Chron. Mor. 1135, 2106, etc.).

περίγυρο, τό: surrounding region 594, pl. environs 2842, 2852, 2898. (For the pl. see Erot. Gloss.; the use of the singular is rarer but occurs in Imb. 453, Call. 459, Chron. Turc. 32 εἰς ἐκεῖνο τὸ περίγυρο, Alosis Konst. 772).

περιδιαβάζω: enjoy oneself, celebrate a festival 431 (see Erot. Gloss.

περιδιαβασμός, ὁ: pleasure, enjoyment 23, 1505 (cf. Lib. N 2894; the more usual form is παραδιαβασμός: pleasure Lib. 934 and with the meaning of «conversation», Chron. Mor. 8295).

περιθάλασσον, τό: sea-shore 1664. (The word is recorded in the Lexica of Du Cange and Meursius and in Cor. Pret. lito, περιθάλασσο, littus, ἀκτή).

περικαρτερῶ: tarry, linger 1620, 2031.

περιλαμβάνω: receive, take possession of, aor. ἐπερίλαβε 1084.

περιπατῶ = περπατῶ: 1546, 2041, 2086.

περιπλέκω: surround 2044; become entangled with, embrace (?) 1856.

περίσσ(ι)ος: very much 1, 104, 980, 2605; adv. περίσσια: very greatly 136, 165, 214, 741, etc. (Erot. Gloss.).

περισσός: ample, plenty 608, 908, 1850, 2629; syncopated form περσὰ 507; adv. περισσά: very greatly 2406; comparative n. pl. περισσότερα E50.

περίφουμος: famous 54, 1456, 1472, 1476. (For the vowel change in this root cf. φοῦμος Chron. Mor. 4058, and see Erot. Gloss. s.vv. φήμη, φημίζω).

περιχρυσώνω: gild all around 1442 (Dimitrakos Lex.).

πέρπυρο, τό: Byzantine gold coin, byzant 1443.

πέρσικος: Persian 867, 1207 (proparoxytone accentuation probably due to influence of Italian *persico*; oxytone form also occurs 1085).

περσότερο(ν): adv. more 830, 2502.

περσός: see περισσός.

πετσοκοπισμός, ὁ : slaughter, massacre 1214 (cf. πετσόκομμα Dimitrakos Lex.).

πετῶ: fly 1709, aor. subj. νὰ πετάσουν 1636 (cf. Achill. 1015).

πέψη: a sending, an omen 585 (⟨AG πέμψις).

πήζω: freeze, p.p.p. πηγμένο 1187.

'πηρεσιά, ἡ = ὑπηρεσία: service, use 408.

πηχάρι, τό: a cubit 1571, 1645.

πήχας, ὁ: cubit, acc. πήχαν 2057 (⟨ AG πῆχυς).

πήχη, ἡ: cubit, pl. πῆχες 1579, 2080, 2579, 2580.

πιάνω: take, catch, seize, get, acquire etc. *passim*; prevail 345; set to, begin 379; occupy, take possession of a place 610.

πιβουλή, ἡ: treachery 2416 (see commentary *ad loc.*).

πιβουλιά, ἡ: treachery 986 (see Erot. Gloss. and commentary on v. 2416).

πίθακος, ὁ: ape, acc. pl. πιθάκους 2283 (πίθακος is the AG Doric form, and also occurs in a papyrus — see Preisigke Lex. It is possible that it was a contemporary dialectal form — but a misprint may also be suspected).

πίθος, ὁ: a large jar 2175.

πικρός: bitter; noun τὸ πικρό: bitterness, grief 381.

πιλαλῶ: run 1649 (Erot. Gloss.).

πισαυρίου: on the following day 978, 1072. The word occurs frequently in Machairas (see Dawkins Gloss.); for the modern Cypriot πισάρκον, see MNE I 336.

πιτάκι, τό: letter 765, 2161, 2712 (see Dimitrakos Lex. s.v. πιττάκι(ον) for examples in popular literature).

πιτηδέως (?): suitably, fittingly 1155 (for ἐπιτηδείως with distortion for the sake of the rhyme ?).

πλακώνω: crush 351; cover (in erotic sense) 105.

πλαντάζω: intrans. choke, die (of thirst, emotion etc.) 882, 891, 1602, 2920, p.p.p. πλαντασμένο 2922.

πλέα: any longer 1650.

πλέο: more, (no) more, (not) any longer 276c, 862, 1551, 1614, 1899, 1954, 2450, 2452, 2763. See also πλιὰ and πλιό.

πλερώνω: see πληρώνω.

πλεύσιμο, τό: boat, pl. πλευσίματα E17 (πλεύσιμο(ν) also occurs with this meaning in Choumnos ms 1850, Penth. Than. 153 and Koron. 81).

πλέω: sail, aor. ἐπλεύσαμε 2620.

πλεώτερος: bigger, greater 1777, 1941, 1944, 1957, 1959; adv. πλεώτερο: more, a greater amount 1939. Cf. πλιότερος Erot. Gloss.

πλήθιος: numerous, abundant 693 (see Erot. Gloss. s.v. πλήσος and Chatzidakis in *Ath.* 29, 1917, 215).

πληθύνω: fill with (?), p.p.p. πληθυσμένοι 1929.

πληρῶ: τὸν χρόνον νὰ πληροῦμε: at the end of every year 2541.

πληρώνω: pay (for), fulfil, finish 400, 407, 414, 454, 1438, 2134, 2271, 2547, etc., p.p.p. πλερωμένος (η ⟩ ε) 1444.

πλιά: any longer 1194. See πλέα.

πλιό: any longer 884, 2070. See πλέο.

πλούσος: rich, acc. pl. πλούσους 1478 (Erot. Gloss.).

ποδάρι, τό: foot 376, 1646.

ποδιά, ἡ: lap 170, 206a, 208.

πόθεν: whence ? 1839, 2209.

πόθεσις and *πόθεση, ἡ = ὑπόθεσις:* 1445, 1446 (Erot. Gloss.).

ποῖος and *ποιός:* interrog. pron. 294, 316, 332, 337, etc., pl. ποιοὶ 804, 871, 1678; as rel. pron. with article, τὰ ποιὰ 1057.

ποιῶ: make, do 68, 76, 82 *et passim*, aor. ἐποῖκα 963, 1287, 1669, ἔποισα 2464, subj. νὰ ποιήση 1451, 2377 but generally νὰ ποίση 76, 82, 157, etc., mediopassive ποιᾶσαι: esteem, value 1817 (see commentary *ad loc.*).

πολεμάρχος, ὁ: warrior 1756 (Dimitrakos Lex.).

πολεμίζω = πολεμῶ: 1748, 1753. This by-form occurs quite frequently in popular texts e.g. Mach. 100^{28}, etc., Achill. 416, Triv. Tag. 127, Koron. 37, 63, 122, cf. MNE I 275.

πόληψη, ἡ: respect, reputation 1021 (⟨ ὑπόληψις — see Konomos Lex. *s.v.*).

πολιτεία, ἡ: experience (?) 1871 (cf. the phrase βίος καὶ πολιτεία in the titles of the *Synaxaria*).

πολλάκις: often 1385.
πολυδιάμαντος: with many diamonds 2426.
πονηρεύομαι: p.p.p. πονηρεμένο: wily 1945.
πονῶ: trans. and intrans. pain, grieve for, pity 790, 1013, 1023, 1395, 1396, p.p.p. πονεμένοι: grief-stricken 2795 (Erot. Gloss.).
ποσῶς: (not) at all (always with negative) 326, 366, 706, 735, etc.
ποτίζω: water, pass. to drink νὰ ποτιστοῦσι 2056.
ποτιστήρι, τό: watering-place 950 (the same meaning in Choumnos ms 1295, 1475, 2123).
πούς, ὁ: foot, dat. pl. ποσὶ 2925.
πραματεία, ἡ: trade 1432. (Normally πραμάτεια, but the paroxytone form also occurs in Chron. Turc. 101, Katsaïtis If. II 161 and Coron. Pret.).
πρίκα, ἡ: grief 330, 2020, 2374 (⟨ πίκρα with metathesis of ρ — see Erot. Gloss.).
πρικαίνω: embitter, p.p.p. πρικαμένο: bitter 1373. Elsewhere the unmetathesised form πικραίνω is found: 935, 1190, 1789.
πρικιά, ἡ: grief 882 (metathesised ⟨ πικρία; the form is found in Panor. I 62, Thysia 128, etc.).
προβαίνω: appear, come forth, aor. (ἐ)πρόβαλα 1596, 2910 (Erot. Gloss.).
προβατοντύματα: sheep-skins 1037.
προβοδῶ: send 1094, 2187, 2516, 2530, 2548. (Usual meaning is «see someone off on a journey»; see Andriotis Lex. for etymology).
προκομμένος: distinguished, excellent, expert 165, 1912. In MG the meaning is rather «industrious». (See Dimitrakos Lex. *s.v.* προκόπτω; the word also occurs in Def. Sus. 11).
πρόνοια: in the phrase ἡ ἄνω πρόνοια; divine providence 741, 1985.
προσδέχομαι: consent, condescend 1310.
προσέχω: medio-pass. προσέχεται, pay attention to 162 (see commentary *ad loc.*).
προσηκώνομαι: rise out of respect for someone 2756 (cf. Chron. Mor. 5317, 5787, Thes. I 98.6, Choumnos mss Dimitrakos Lex.).
προσφάγι, τό: food eaten with bread 1703 (Dimitrakos Lex.).
πρoυτοῦ νά: before 999 (by assimilation ⟨ προτοῦ).
πτερό, τό: feather 2767, 2769, 2771.
πυξόμηλον, τό: box 2701. A popular equivalent for the ecclesiastical term πυξίον, a pyx or ciborium. Elsewhere the word has only been found in the writings of Du Cange: in his Gloss. he cites only the form μηξόμηλον, but in his *Descriptio Constantinopolis Christianae* (*Historia Byzantina duplici commentario illustrata,* Paris 1680, Book 3 no. 63), while discussing the πυξίον, he states: «recentiones vero [vocant] μυξόμηλον, corrupto, ut par est credere, vocabulo ex πυξόμηλον, quamobrem non desunt qui μυξόμηλον idem esse opinantur, quod ἀρτοφόριον».
πῶς: how ? 575, 583, 1115, etc.; why ? 268, 1127, 1128, 1135, 2479.

ῥαβδιά, ἡ: a blow with a stick 2715.
ῥαθυμίζω: p.p.p. ραθυμισμένος: angry 2406 (⟨ ἀραθυμῶ, perhaps influenced by ὀργισμένος).
ῥιζικό, τό: fate 124b, 269, 364, 2356. (⟨ ρίζα. For the semantic development, see Xanthoudidis, Erot. Gloss. and *Ath.* 26, 1914, Lex. Arch. 174 ff.).
ῥίμα, ἡ: rhyme E11, E21 (⟨ Ital. rima).
ῥίπτω: throw off, aor. ἔριψε 1230 (elsewhere the usual MG ρίχνω is found).
ῥομφαία, ἡ: two-edged sword 377.

ῥοπή, ἡ: storm 2091.
ῥωταπόκριση, ἡ: question and answer here «answers to your questions», 1924 (⟨ ἐρωταπόκρισις; the form with aphaeresis also occurs in Katsaïtis If. III 60).

σαβανώνω: wrap in a shroud 289.
σαγίτα, ἡ: arrow 1215, 1378, 1379, 2762; also (with loss of intervocalic γ) σαΐτα 545 (⟨ Lat. *sagitta*; see Erot. Gloss.).
σαγόνι, τό: jaw 1557.
σαΐτα: see σαγίτα.
σαλεύω: move; intrans. in pass. aor. ἐσαλεύθη 829.
σατράπης, ὁ: satrap 461, 770, 770a, etc.
σεβαίνω: enter; only in aor. ἐσέβη 36, 2729, 2793, σέβηκε 102, 2916, ἐσέβην (third sing.) 190, σέβηκες 2352, subj. νὰ σέβω 2110 (⟨ εἰσβαίνω).
σείω: shake 663, pass. tremble, quiver 1384 (bis), tnird sing. pres. σέται 1983.
σεντούκι, τό: chest 675 (Turkish *sendik* — see Maidhof in *Glotta* 10, 17).
σερνικός: male 159 (⟨ ἀρσενικὸς — see Andriotis Lex.).
σήμερον: today 864, 1055.
σιάζω: put in order, administer 251, 1122 (Dimitrakos Lex. cf. Cretan σάζω Erot. Gloss.).
σιδερώνω: clap in irons, p.p.p. σιδερωμένοι 782.
σκάφθω: dig 1732 (σκάπτω ⟩ σκάφτω ⟩ σκάφθω — falsely reconstituted ancient form).
σκιάδι, τό: hat 1096 (⟨ AG σκιάδειον — common in medieval texts).
σκοντάφτω: stumble, trip 350. See also ἀσκοντάφτω.
σκοπῶ: observe, examine 1848.
σκοτίζομαι: be confused, vexed 872.
σκοτώνω: kill 351, 355 *et passim*: act. with pass. meaning, ἐσκοτῶσα 894.
σκυλοκέφαλοι: Dog-headed 2616.
σουρίζω: hiss 190, 590 (⟨ συρίζω).
σπαθοκοπῶ: wound with a sword 1358.
σπλαγχνότητα, ἡ: compassion, love 530 (see Erot. Gloss. *s.v.* σπλαχνότη(τα)).
σπουδάζω: intrans. hasten 1323 (Erot. Gloss.).
στάμενα, τά: coins, money 40, 507, 631, 2883. (See bibliography given by Irmscher in Trivolis Gloss. and esp. Stadtmüller, *Ἑλληνικὰ* 7, 1934, 105–6; the word also occurs in Koron. 85, Cor. Pret. etc.).
στανικῶς: against someone's will, by force 2172 (cf. Erot. I 868, V 359 and see Erot. Gloss.).
στανιό(ν): against one's will; with gen. 2394; μὲ τὸ στανιόν του 1256. (For etymology and examples from popular texts, see Erot. Gloss.; for the phrase μὲ τὸ στανιό του cf. Thes. 970, 7515, and Komoutos p. 15 μὲ τὸ στανιό τζη).
σταύρωμα, τό: probably, crossing 774 (see commentary *ad loc.*).
σταυρώνω: to make a cross movement, intercept 1521.
στέκω: stand still 198, 238 *et passim*, middle στέκομαι 652, 857, 858, aor. ἐστάθη(κα) 859, 972, etc., part. στεκούμενος 1376.
στέλλω: send 1508, 1803, 1994, 2141, 2147, 2457 (elsewhere always common MG στέλνω, ἔστειλα).
στενωσία, ἡ: straitened circumstances, difficulties 1921 (from στένωσις, with perhaps influence of στενοχωρία — see commentary *ad loc.*).
στερά, ἡ: dry-land; τῆς στερᾶς: by land 494 (⟨ στεριὰ ⟨ στερεὰ — see Introd. p. 63).
στερεός: solid; comp. fem. στερεωτέρα 1942.
στεριώνω: make firm, strengthen, p.p.p. στεριωμένη 757.
στερρός: firm, strong 1383 (cf. Achill.

689 where στερρὸν is used of Achilles - «sturdy»).

στερῶ: deprive (of) E48 (with gen. of person and acc. of thing, contrary to AG usage), p.p.p. στερημένος: deprived 1812.

στήνω: set up, erect 1145, p.p.p. στημένος 2577; σταμένος 2646; εἶχαν βουλὴ σταμένη: they were firmly resolved 2749.

στιά, ἡ: fire 1575 (MNE I224). See also ἱστία.

στοιβάζω: cram, pass.: squeeze together, bunch, aor. ἐστοιβάχτησαν 339.

στορικός, ὁ: historian E32 (⟨ ἱστορικός).

στορῶ: paint 2199 (⟨ ἱστορῶ for which see Sophocles Lex. and Du Cange; στορῶ also occurs in Thes. 8230; cf. στόρησι: painting, Erot. Gloss.).

στράτα, ἡ: way, road 893, 1089, 2076, 2087, 2277, 2451. (⟨ Lat. strata (via), Triant. *Lehnw.* 123).

στρατεία and *στρατιά, ἡ:* army, expedition *passim*; see commentary on v. 11.

στρατεύω: campaign 458 (not the same as Cretan στρατεύγω ⟨ στράτα — see Erot. Gloss. *s.v.*).

στρατηγός, ὁ: general, commander 20c, 965, 990a, etc.; often means simply «soldier» 984, 1631, 1679, etc. (For this meaning cf. Erot. Gloss.).

στρατορίκι, τό: (collectively) commanders-in-chief 2787, 2908 (see commentary on v. 2787).

στρέφω: return, go back 217, 681, 1428, pass. στρέφομαι 221, 695, 1639, 2547, 2634.

συβουλεύω: advise 556, 557, 659,794, etc., pass. συβουλεύομαι: advise 1101; consult 1105; take counsel, consider 1065, 2512 (For the use of the medio-passive as act., see Dimitrakos Lex. *s.v.* συμβουλεύω 4).

συβούλιον, τό: conspiracy 2746.

συγγίζω: draw near 1852 (? ⟨ συνεγγίζω).

συγκατεβαίνω: condescend, climb down 1272 (Erot. Gloss.).

συγκλίνω: medio-passive συγκλίνομαι: lie with (a woman) 171.

συγκρούω: intrans. clash, come into conflict, aor. συνέκρουσαν 851.

συζώντανος: alive 2811. The only other instance of the word which has been found is in Katsaïtis Kl. II 314, 322 (but cf. συνζώντανος Sachlikis II 431).

συμβάζομαι: agree, come to terms, be reconciled, aor. imp. συνηβαστῆτε 2409, with lengthened internal augment cf. ἐσυνηβάστησαν Chron. Mor. T 842, νὰ συνηβαστῇ Achel. 1244, συνηβάστησαν *id.* 591, συνηβάζουνται Synax. Gyn. 27 (which Krumbacher alters to συμβιβάζουνται), and the nouns συνήβασις and συνήβασμα Thes. 1373, 5223. The Cretan forms are usually συβάζω / συβάζομαι, ἐσυβάστηκα — see Erot. Gloss.

συμμαζώνω: gather together, group together 1973, 2112, 2174, 2603 (see Dimitrakos Lex. *s.v.* συμμαζεύω).

συμμαχίζομαι: be allied, p.p. συμμαχισμένοι 1751 (cf. συμμαχῶ).

συμπαθῶ: forgive (with acc. of thing, gen. of person) 828, 1766, p.p.p. συμπαθημένοι 2824.

συναπανταίνω: come to meet, meet in battle 2288, 2480 (cf. Cretan συναπαντήχνω, Erot. Gloss.).

συναπάντηση, ἡ: meeting 2454.

συνάσσω: gather, collect 795, 971, 1029, 1266, 1610. The present συνάσσω — 1029, 1266, 1610 — is reformed from aor. σύναξα ⟨ συνάγω on analogy of ταράσσω etc. This form of the present is also found in Lib. E 767 and Koron. 113. See MNE I 117, 280-1.

συνειδός, τό: conscience E 30.

σύνθρονος: sharing the throne with, co-regent with (+ gen.) 698, 737, 1239.

συννοοῦμαι: deliberate with oneself, conceive a plan, aor. συννοήθη 1165.

συντηρῶ: observe, watch 2023, 2758 (Erot. Gloss.).

συντυχαίνω: speak, converse, utter 1486, 1766, 2231, 2375, 2404, 2641 (Erot. Gloss.).

συντυχιά, ἡ: speech 972; power of speech, utterance 1506.

σύρνω: trans. and intrans. draw, drag, take, lead, throw, go etc. 258, 370, 386, 439, etc. (Dimitrakos Lex.).

συφέρνω: resemble 1554, 1652. (From AG συμφέρω, cf., with the same meaning, modern Gretan συνηφέρνω, see Alexiou on Voskop. 42. In Erot. συνηφέρνω has the meaning of «come-round», «recover one's senses»).

συχώρησις, ἡ: forgiveness 2824 (intermediate between purist συγχώρησις and demotic συχώρεση).

σφαλτός: mistaken, erroneous E9 (Erot. Gloss.).

σφύρα, ἡ: ball 676 (for σφαίρα).

σφυρί, τό: ball 685, 757 (dim. of σφύρα, used erroneously for σφαίρα, perhaps with additional confusion with σφυρί ⟨ σπυρί, «seed» — see commentary on v. 676).

σώνω: arrive at, reach, catch up with 357, 545, 999, etc.; manage to, succeed in 4, 1356; impers.: be enough (for) (with acc.), satisfy 1277, 1739, 1743 (Erot. Gloss. and cf. Konomos Lex. *s.v.*).

σώφρονας: prudent, sensible E26 (demotic form of σώφρων, also found in Katsaïtis If. Af. 88).

τάβλα, ἡ: table 1145, 2302 (⟨ Lat. tabula, Triant. Lehnw. 99).

ταδέ: otherwise, or else 2796. Many examples of the expression occur in Choumnos the first of which is at VII 39-40 (vv.694-5): γοργὸν κατέβα σύντομα ἀπὸ τὴν κλίνην κάτω, / ταδ' ὅλη σου τὴν φαμελιὰν κ' ἐσέναν βάνω κάτω. In his review of Marshall's ed. (*ΕΕΒΣ* 3, 1926, 337-344) Xanthoudidis emended away the expression, refusing to believe in its existence. But there are other examples in portions of the text not published by Marshall — vv. 1829, 2250, 2378 — where it occurs in the forms τὰ δὲ or τὰ δέν. Its derivation is perhaps from τὸ ἂν δὲν (κάνεις). Compare the Chaniote ὀκαὶ τὰ δὲ quote by Alexiou on Apokop. 9, and cf. τεδέ, below.

τάξη, / -ις, ἡ: order, propriety, array, battle ranks 336, 838, 858, 1062, 2942; phrase κατὰ τὴν τάξη: as is right and proper 1201.

ταπεινοσύνη, ἡ: humility 653, 2631 (Erot. Gloss., Dimitrakos Lex.).

ταράσσω: stir up, make a commotion 1075, 1951.

τάραχος, ὁ: smoked or dried' fish 1704 (AG τάριχος, see commentary *ad loc.*).

τάσσω: promise, vow 299, 516, 1311, 2117, 2171, 2409, 2541; heed, esteem, value 1026; ἂς τάξω: suppose, 1009 (see Erot. Gloss.).

ταυρί(ον), τό: pl. ταυρία: young bulls 2059, 2184, 2185 (dim. of ταῦρος).

ταυρῶ: drag away 1599 (the ancestor of MG τραβῶ, *q.v.*, by metathesis; the commoner form in medieval popular texts is ταυρίζω' e.g. Triv. Hist. 7, etc., Thes. 6550 — see Du Cange, MNE I 85 and n.).

ταφιαστής, ὁ: burier, undertaker, pl. ταφιασταὶ 2927 (properly ἐνταφιαστής — Sophocles Lex.).

ταχυτέρου: early tomorrow, early in the morning 913, 951 (see Erot. Gloss. — for the meaning «early» cf. Choumnos ms 523: δὲν ἦτον σύναυγα πολλὰ ἀμ' ἦτον ταχυτέρου).

τεδέ: otherwise, or else 2792. Its etymology may be clearly seen in two

passages from Chron. Turc.: εἶτε δὲ ἀλλέως, «otherwise» p. 100, which is shortened to εἶτε δέ, with the same meaning, p. 120. From εἶτε δὲ to τεδὲ is a simple step. The present instance seems to be the sole example of the word surviving in literature, but cf. also ταδέ, above.

τέλος, τό: tax, tribute 400, 401, 412, etc., pl. τὰ τέλη: authority, responsibility 240.

τελῶ: pay tribute to (with acc. of person) 760, 2171, 2465, 2515, 2542.

τεντώνω: encamp, bivouack (cf. Erot. Gloss. and Achill. 374, Apokop. 123, etc.).

τέσσαροι: four, acc. τέσσαρους 2865; cf. δεκατέσσαροι 2623. (For these forms, cf. Katsaïtis Kl. I 193, Koron. 43 and Chron. Turc. 93).

τήξη, ἡ: a wasting-away, consumption 1352 (AG τῆξις).

τηρῶ: look, observe, watch over, guard 858, 2488, 2492, 2619.

τί;: often means why ? 1711, 1712, 1845, 1893, etc.

τί — ὅτι: that 124c, 269, 463, 524 *et passim*.

τίβοτες: something 2240. (For the form cf. Def. Log. Did. 99, 101, Choumnos ms 850, and for the positive rather than negative sense cf. Chron. Turc. 81. See also τίποτες, τίποτα, below).

τινὰς — κανένας: (no)-one 80, 142,164, 469, etc.

τίποτα and *τίποτες:* (not) anything 366, 409, 692, 827 *et passim*.

τιτρώσκω: wound, aor. pass. (ἐ)τρώθη 420, 1134, 2127; with «internal» acc. τὰ τρώθη 1134 (cf. τὸ ἐπικράνθη Def. Sus. 10, πικραίνεταί το *ibid.* 176).

τοιούτως: in such as way, as follows 2681.

τόμου: conj. when, as soon as 1576, 1598, 2756, 2907, 2913. (See Erot. Gloss. and on III 1591; it still survives in modern Cretan — see Pangalos — and in modern Zakynthian — see Konomos Lex.).

τοῦτος: this 79, 150, 266 *et passim*, n. pl. ταῦτα 1345, 1394, 1507, etc., gen. sing. τουτουνοῦ 2368; with prothesis, ἐτοῦτος (*q.v.*) *passim*.

τραβῶ: draw, lead 1142, 2312; see also ταυρῶ.

τρακόσοι: three hundred 2075, neuter τρακόσια 507.

τράντα: thirty 1565; the more usual τριάντα is also found 2943 (cf. τραντάφυλλο Erot. IV 649, Minotou Param. A, p. 433, etc.).

τρέμω: intrans. tremble 700, 2308, 2350; trans.: fear, be terrified of 2355, 2926.

τρίβω: shatter, break into pieces 853 (cf. συντρίβω).

τριγυρίζω: surround, besiege 611, 1307.

τριπηδῶ: trot, make a horse trot 243 (⟨ τριποδίζω with assimilation and perhaps influence of πηδῶ: cf. τρίπηδος (δρόμος) Dimitrakos Lex. and, for the verb itself, Choumnos ms 1046 (= (M)IX 46): ὁ μόσχος ἐνεστάθηκεν, καὶ τριπηδᾶ καὶ τρέχει, and Sachlikis II 523: τριπήδησε σὰν ἕνα παλληκάριν).

τρομάσσω: frighten 197, 202a, 702, 872; intrans.: tremble with fear 2669 (Dimitrakos Lex.).

τρομῶ: dare to do something 1858 (see Konomos Lex. *s.v.* τρομάω).

τροπή, ἡ: see ντροπή.

τσακίζω: crush, weaken, exhaust 866; phrase τσακίζω κονδάρι: ply the lance 874 (see commentary *ad loc.*).

τσακισμός, ὁ: defeat 936, 938 (cf. τζακισμὸς Chron. Turc. 33, etc., Stavrinos 977, and Du Cange s.v. τζάκισμα).

τσουγκάνι: polo 691 (see commentary *ad loc.*).

τυραγνῶ: torment, torture 690 (⟨ τυραννῶ cf. σύγνεφο ⟨ σύννεφο).

τυραννίζω: torment 1740 (⟨ τυραννῶ; the -ίζω form is not common in popular texts — but see Katsaïtis If. 180, Thy. 126, Kl. III 305 — but the p.p.p. τυραννισμένος is quite common: see Erot. Gloss. *s.v.* τυραννῶ; τυραννίζω is also cited in MNE I 275 and by Du Cange).

τυχάνω = τυχαίνω: happen to be 2346 (-άνω on the analogy of βάνω etc. and, of course, τυγχάνω. The perversion is probably solely for the sake of rhyme i.e. τυχάνω was never a spoken form).

τύχης, ἡ = τύχη: fate 1236, 1360, 1382. With the form ἡ τύχης may be compared ἡ γῆς. It occurs also in Chron. Turc. 60, 91, 144.

ὑπαγαίνω and *ὑπηγαίνω = πηγαίνω: passim.*

ὑπνοφαντασά, ἡ: vision seen in a dream, reverie 154 (cf. Thes. 1544 (= II 2.7) στὴν ὑπνοφαντασιά του and Dimitrakos Lex.).

ὕστερος: last 8; phrase ἐξ ὑστέρου: consequently, 1796; adv. ὑστέρου: afterwards 2292 (cf. Lib. 5381, P 1431, Alosis Konst. 396, Chron. Turc. 29, 54, 73); ὕστερον 289; ὕστερα 19, 208, 704, etc.

ὑψηλός: high; superl. fem. acc. sing. ὑψηλότατην 470. Elsewhere with aphaeresis ψηλός, adv. ψηλὰ 858, 1243, 1244, etc.

φαμελία and *φαμελιά, ἡ:* family, household 1018, 1026, 1246, 1259, 1274, 1309, 2150, 2204, 2214. Very common in popular texts e.g. Chron. Mor. 2164, 2286, 2981, Def. Sus. 147, Apokop. 232, Choumnos ms 695, etc. and in the form φαμιλιὰ e.g. Choumnos ms 236. Derivation is from Latin *familia* — see Andriotis Lex.

φαντάζω: intrans. appear, reveal oneself 108. This intrans. use is proper to the middle voice of the verb — see Dimitrakos Lex.

φαντασιά, ἡ: impressive sight, display 2315, 2431.

φαρμακίζω: poison 2700, 2720, 2750 (φαρμακεύω and φαρμακώνω are also in use, vv. 1379, 1544, 2682, 2774. The form φαρμακίζω is uncommon but also occurs in Chron. Turc. 131).

φελῶ: help, benefit 943 (⟨ ὠφελῶ — see Erot. Gloss.).

φέρνω: bring, carry, bear etc. *passim*, aor. ἤφερα etc. 396, 447, 477, 675, etc.; ἔφερε 321.

φεύγω: trans. and intrans. flee (from) 622, 879, 884 *et passim*. For the trans. use cf. Erot. III 205, 1590, Panor. I 103, etc.

φθάνω: reach, arrive, catch up with 43, 338, 547, 1356; also φτάνω 841, 1223.

φθαρτός: corruptible, mortal 739, E44.

φθειάνω: arrange, put in order, restore 578, 1498. (⟨ * εὐθειάζω — Andriotis Lex. MG φτ(ε)ιάνω see Erot. Gloss. *s.v.* φτειάνω).

φθειάσμα, τό: work, task, repair 2585 (cf. Du Cange Lex. φτιάσμα, «opus». In Katsaïtis φτειάσμα has the meaning of «make-up», If. V 1083, and according to Kriaras the word also occurs in «Συνήγορος ψυχῶν τοῦ Ρωσσερίου» (1657) p. 256).

φθέρνω: destroy 1865 (⟨ AG φθείρω. The word also occurs in the forms φθέρνω and ἐφθέρνω in Thes. 7418, 10, 187, and 10,324, and in Batrach. 207).

φθύνω: trans. spit on (someone) 325 (a pseudo-erudite form created from φτύνω ⟨ AG πτύω).

φιδάκι, τό: little snake or serpent 210.

φιδόπουλο(ν), τό: little snake 211, 216.

φιλοτιμῶ: honour with gifts 2266. (For the verb and meaning cf. Achill. 241, Pikat. 127).

φιλῶ: kiss 193, 628, 2260, p.p.p. φιλημένο: beloved 2921, πεφιλημένῳ 1305.

φκαριστῶ = εὐχαριστῶ: see φχαριστῶ.

φλουρί, τό: gold coin, florin 2890 (〈 φλωρίον 〈 Lat. *florinus*. φλωρί(ον) is the form in most early popular texts but Chron. Turc. 26 also has φλωρία, which is also the common MG form — see Dimitrakos Lex.).

φοραίνω: put a garment on someone 2220 (present re-formed from aor. φόρεσα 〈 φορῶ cf. Achill. 812 and see MNE I 288 φορένω).

φορεσά, ἡ: clothes, garment 39, pl. φορεσὲς 955; elsewhere φορεσιὰ is found 954a, 1114, 1125 (Erot. Gloss.).

φόρις: if perchance, in case 1303, 1588. The word occurs in the same form in Panor. III 274 and in Katsaïtis If. III 531, 600, etc. and in the form φόρσι in Fortun. IV 342 and Chron. Turc. 72, and as φόρτζι in Mach. 246^{a} *et passim*. The origin of all of these is Ital. *forsi*).

φούρκα, ἡ: gallows 470 (〈 Lat. *furca*).

φουρκίζω: hang on a gallows 470, 662, 670, 712, etc. (see Erot. Gloss.).

φουσάτο, τό: army 23, 173 *et passim*. (〈 Lat. *fossatum*. It is still current in Zakynthos with the same meaning; see Minotou Param. A No. 1, etc. and Konomos Lex. *s.v.*).

φρόνεση, ἡ: prudence, good sense 336 (〈 φρόνησις; the present form also occurs in Xenit. 68, Gad. 505, Katsaïtis If. Af. 86, III 343, etc.).

φτάνω: see φθάνω.

φτήνια, ἡ: abundance, plenty 1429 (〈εὐθηνία; MG φτήνια usually bears the sense of «cheapness», but the original AG meaning, as here, is also found in Cor. Pret. and Katsaïtis Thy. V 708, Kl. II 690).

φτυχῶ = εὐτυχῶ: be fortunate 2438.

φυλάγω and *φυλάσσω:* guard, keep; both forms are found φυλάγω 672, 2365, 2791 and (with loss of intervocalic γ) φυλάει 1110, 1118; φυλάσσω 2026, 2496, p.p.p. φυλαμένοι 1916, aor. imp. φύλαξον E47.

φχαριστῶ: thank 1437, 1443; also φκαριστῶ 1140 and the original εὐχαριστῶ 2875, E38, E43.

φώκη: seal 1659 (Dimitrakos Lex.; MG demotic φώκια).

φωλεύω: nest 2640 (Dimitrakos Lex.; MG demotic is φωλιάζω).

χαίρω and *χαίρομαι:* generally passive, rejoice, be glad 29, 205, 230, 2304, etc., part. χαιράμενος 2236, active forms: χαίρει + dat. of person: wish well to, greet(?) 531, opt. χαίροις: hail! 305. (For the part. χαιράμενος see Erot. Gloss. *s.v.* and Jannaris § 2111. For the use of χαίροις in popular texts cf. Gad. 149).

χαλινώνω: bridle (a horse) 312.

χαλῶ: destroy 48, 932a, 934, etc., active used as pass. 19, 2670, aor. pass. χαλάθη 1189, 1225.

χάμω: to the ground 380.

χαντάκι, τό: ditch, water channel 564 (〈 Arabic *handaq* cf. Mach. 118^{1}, 362^{27}, Def. Sus. 45, Chron. Turc. 44, etc.).

χαρτοφόρος, ὁ: messenger 662 (*hap. leg.?*).

χείρ, ἡ: hand, acc. pl. χεῖρας 668, 1566, E42. (Elsewhere χέρι is always used).

χλαμύδα, ἡ: cloak 2427.

χλιμιτρίζω: neigh 309.

χλιμιτῶ: neigh, aor. χλιμίτηξε 2919 (〈 AG χρεμετίζω, see Erot. Gloss. χιλιμιντρίζω).

χολομανίζω and *χολομανῶ:* be angry, lose one's temper; from χολομανῶ 327, 367; from χολομανίζω, aor. pass. ἐχολομανίσθησαν: they got angry with one another 367. (The word also occurs in Def. Log. Did. 66, and Choumnos ms 1495).

χρειάζομαι: need 2446, p.p.p. χρειασμένοι: in need, needy 902, 905, 2048.

χρήζω: need 671, 1018, 2408; heed, pay attention to, respect 366, 960, 1466; ἐχρήζω: be worth 1764. (For the meaning «heed» cf. Batrach. 83, Koron. 50, Gad. 222, etc. and for the sense «be worth» cf. Koron. 84 and Erot. Gloss. For the form ἐχρήζω, with prothesis, cf. ἀχρήζω Katsaïtis If. I 219, III 489 and Koron. 72).

χρυσοπαλαμισμένος: overlaid with gold 2004.

χρυσορράντιστος, gold-bespangled 290. (The word also occurs in Thes. 1430, 5918, 6251).

χυμῶ: rush, swoop, aor. ἐχύμησα 584, 865, 1590.

χώρα, ἡ: sometimes means «city» e.g. 553, 559, 586, etc.

χώρια: separately from; with gen. pron. 2336 (Erot. Gloss.).

ψάτταχος, ὁ(?): parrot, acc. pl. ψαττάχους 2178 (= ψιττακός — see commentary *ad loc.*).

ψένω: cook 1632. The commoner ψήνω is found at vv. 1626, 1630.

ψηλοφρονῶ: be proud, arrogant, boastful 1249, 1381 (〈 ὑψηλοφρονῶ— a biblical word, see LSJ, Lampe Lex., etc.).

ψήνω: see ψένω.

ψυχώνω: bring to life, aor. pass. ψυχώθη(κε) 1708, 1731 (cf. Lib. 3525 ἐψυχώθη, and Dimitrakos Lex. *s.v.* ψυχῶ).

ὧδε: here; used adjectivally - «these» 2286.

ὡριοῦμαι: become or be beautiful; only in p.p. ὡριωμένος: beautiful 1553, 2157, 2593, 2637, with aphaeresis 'ριωμένα 2877, and without synizesis 'ραιωμένη 2145 (cf. ὡραιωμένην Lib. 1730, and Dimitrakos Lex. *s.v.* ὡραιοῦμαι).

ὥστε πού: temporal conj. until (with aor. referring to past action) 596 (cf. ὅσο ποὺ Thumb § 275).

INDEX OF PROPER NAMES

APPENDIX

ELEMENTS OF THE *RIMADA* NOT FOUND IN PSEUDO - CALLISTHENES A OR β[1]

Reference	Element not in A / β	Other witnesses
50–52 I 3	Egyptians write letter to Nect. begging him to return.	(misunderstanding)
111–4 I 6	Nect. asks Ol. in what form the god appeared to her and she replies, «Like a goat with horns».	P
121–3 I 6	Nect. promised to bring the god to her that night, and received permission from her to do so.	cf. P
195–6 I 10	All the courtiers and servants were afraid and amazed by what they saw.	Byz. 460–2
198–200 I 11	Ph. cowered and cried in terror that the gods were angry with him.	cf. Eth. p. 25
217–8 I 11	Antiphotus cast a spell to interpret the sign to Ph.	Eth. p. 27 Val. I 5
249–50 I 14	Al. fought in the front ranks and all made way for him.	
261–8 (esp. 267–8) I 14	Al.'s dialogue with Nect. after pushing him over the cliff is somewhat changed.	
280–2 I 14	That evening Al. wept bitterly for Nect. and Ol. came and found Nect.'s body.	

1. The list includes both elements which are witnessed in other branches of the tradition of the Romance and may therefore be considered to have been present in the *Rimada's* prose model and elements which do not appear in any other version. Single lines added by the versifier as «padding» are not included. A reference in brackets indicates that only a part of the *Rimada's* passage is present in that witness and «cf». indicates an approximate correspondence.

Reference	Element not in A / β	Other witnesses
307–8 I 17	One day Al. sought a horse to go to war with.	
335–48 I 19	Al. having won the race, Nikolaos asks for a second race with just the two of them competing.	cf. two races in Syr.
351 I 19	Nikolaos is crushed by his saddle (i.e. the race is on horse-back).	(misunderstanding)
387–8 I 22	Al. goes to fetch his mother so that she may always be with Ph.	cf. P
404–6 I 23	(Darius' tax is...) for the water you drink and the sun you see — for this you are in servitude to the great king.	(P) (Val. I 16) (Syr. p. 31)
419–20 I 23	When D. heard it he was greatly angered by Al.'s words.	P
441–2 I 24	Ol. cried, «Hurl your lance! For Ammon is my helper».	Arm. 68 Val.I 17 Byz. 1099–1102
447–50 I 24	Al. killed Paus. in the sight of Ph. who said, «I am no longer angry with you, because you have killed my enemy».	cf. Leo I 24
455 I 24	On Ph.'s death large candles were lit.	
457–8 I 24	Ol. and Al. remained in solitary rule.	
459–72 (esp. 459–60 & 463–4) I 25	Al.'s speech to the Greeks in the form of a *letter*.	
469–72 I 25	Any objector will be hung. Greetings to all.	cf. Leo I 25
493–4 I 26	All of them were well armed.	cf. Arm.73

Reference	Element not in A / β	Other witnesses
509–14 I 30	The men of «Veria» exhibit *bravery* and are therefore treated peaceably by Al.	(misunderstanding)
595–6 I 32	They were in the city when and if it was founded and did not leave till it was finished.	
599–600 I 332	You will hear the interpretation of the 5 letters.	
652–4 I 35	«In what do you hope? Surrender your fortress to me humbly and I will be merciful with you».	P
671–2 I 36	Al. left a garrison at Type.	cf. P
719–24 I 37	They answered, «We are sent by D. Do what you will with us». Al. said he was trying them out and gave them a gift.	(distortion of ps-Call.)
727–8 I 38	The letter will tell all that Al. said.	cf. Arm. 107 cf. Byz. 1807
734–6 I 38	Letter of Al. to D. (greatly modified and amplified).	cf. P
777–9 I 39	«Arm yourselves and prevent them from returning to Macedonia».	cf. P
800–3 I 39	«I thought you trusted me. Whatever damage Al. does, he will pay for it. Because you are not obedient to me...».	cf. P
809–12 I 39	«Sit tight and I will arrest and hang the disobedient». He wrote this letter to his lands, that all might be obedient night and day.	cf. P
825–6 I 40	«Wicked Al., what do you want? Go home and rule there».	cf. P
835–6 I 41	The «Amazonoi» were drawn up to charge the Macedonians.	cf. P

Reference	Element not in A / β	Other witnesses
843 I 41	Many were killed, young men and warriors.	
849–58 I 41	Description of battle.	(P)
859–64 & 867–70 I 41	Hortatory speech of Al. and battle description.	
879–80 I 41	The Persians fled in terror and sheltered in the branches.	
887–8 I 41	Al. was victorious and poor D. was deceived.	
893–4 I 44	On the way they found water and drank, but some died of hunger.	
909–18 I 44–II 9	«If we are attacked we can fight on foot. Let us erect a wooden fort and shelter until the help arrives for which I heva sent». In two days Al. came to a meadow where they found horses of D.	P (Syr. p. 56)
951–4 II 9	They saw five Persians and pursued them, but they hid in a wood.	cf. P
989–90 II 10	Al. did not receive him but reproached him in his heart.	cf. P
1006–8 II 10	«Because you seized my mother you say you will destroy me. I don't care as long as my head is all right and my army at my command».	cf. P
1017–28 II 10	Letter of Al. to D. (much modified).	cf. P cf. Val. II 25(?)
1041–2 II 11	«I hope my letter finds you well and subservient to me».	cf. P
1055–60 II 11	Letter of D. to Porus (in actual letter form).	cf. P

Reference	Element not in A / β	Other witnesses
1069–70 II 12	When D. heard it he wanted to do battle with the Macedonians.	P
1089–90 II 13	The dust cloud is raised by *laying down branches for he horses to rample on.*	cf. Leo II 13
1119–20 II 14	The sentries conducted him to D.	P Val. II 26
1145–6 II 14	He ordered the table to be set up and they all went and sat down.	
1191–2 II 15	D. admired Al.'s wisdom and daring.	P
1204 II 16	«...How many sheep stand against one wolf».	P
1211–2 II 16	When the two sides met many women became widows.	
1229–44 esp. 1230–4 II 16	D.'s lament after the battle (much expanded).	
1257–8 II 17	«You have seized my mother, wife and sister and stripped me of my honour».	cf. P
1275–6 II 17	«D. complains that I plundered him, on the contrary he says that I wronged him».	
1279–80 II 17	«Now another to whom it belongs succeeds him, to rule it for a time».	
1347–52 II 20	They kill their lord, and what did they gain? Behold their wickedness! May their bread choke them and their bodies waste away!	
1373–86 II 20	Speech of D. on fate and death (much expanded).	(P)
1403 II 21	There were other kings buried there.	cf. Arm. 198 cf. P

Reference	Element not in A / β	Other witnesses
1404–8 II 21	Each grave had an inscription. So they wrote an inscription, on D.'s tomb.	(misunderstanding)
1435–6 II 21	«Let the soldiers take arms from the armouries to guard the frontiers».	cf. Syr. p. 83 cf. P
1487–8 II 22	«I spoke to him, he told me what he wanted and I buried him as if he were my father».	P cf. Eth. p. 102 cf. Syr. p. 85
1521-2 II 23	«Seeing them in flight we intercepted them and cut them to pieces».	P
1547–8 II 32	Taking some natives we walked away from those places.	P cf. Arm. 209
1619–20 II 36	We left there and came to a river.	(misunderstanding)
1631–2 II 36	The soldier showed everyone and they cooked the fish like him.	P Arm. 209
1635–6 II 36	I ordered the soldiers not to catch them, but to let them fly away.	P Arm. 209
1675–8 II 38	We wished to land on the island but we were afraid of the words we heard. I ordered the soldiers to go and see who the speakers were.	P (Eth. p. 154)
1681–2 II 38	They drowned 40 of my best soldiers.	cf. Arm. 209 cf. Eth. p. 154 cf. Syr. p. 100
1687–8 II 39	The nobles desired to see it because they said those wise men live for ever.	
1696–8 II 39	(It was dark) for 20 days, and 5 more during which we walked and saw no-one.	cf. Eth. p. 154
1723–4 II 40	The birds told us to dismount and take whatever we found there.	(misunderstanding)
1745–6 III 1	«Now he is dragging us to do battle again, to lose our bodies and suffer affliction».	cf. Eth. p. 108

Reference	Element not in A/β	Other witnesses
1797–800 III 2	«I hope first in the gods, in our forbearance, and secondly in our love and concord. We will fight not only Porus but other kings too».	
1821–2 III 2	«I am coming against you with a mighty rod; I think you will suffer the same as D.».	cf. Byz. 4560
1845–6 III 3	«Why does Al. wish to fight with me, whose forces are so great?».	Arm. 215
1873–6 III 4	The two of them armed to fight and stood in the midst. Then they began and trumpets sounded.	(P) (λ)
1882–90 III 4	Gnomic observations on Porus' death. When the soldiers saw that Porus was killed...	(Syr. p. 91)
1899–900 III 4	Hearing this the soldiers no longer fought but came and did homage to Al.	cf. Eth. p. 125
1923–4 III 5	«If you come to us with love we have some questions to answer for you».	cf. Arm. 222
1927–40 1967–72 III 3	Dialogue with Brahmans modified - some answers in particular changed.	(cf. Eth. p.131f.) (cf. Syr. pp.92–3) (cf. Arm. 223)
1997–8 III 17	«I take some of us, embark in ships, go to a shore and land there».	cf. Syr. p. 94
2005–6 III 7	«I wished to travel inland in the island and see that tomb».	Eth. p. 142 (Syr. p. 95) (Arm. 224)
2031–2 III 17	«We came to India and set out into the wilderness».	cf. Syr. p. 96 (Eth. p. 145)
2065–78 III 17	Various encounters with wild beasts.	(Val. III 20) (Leo III 17 IV) (Arm. 224) (Eth. p. 149) cf. Syr. pp. 96–8
2089–90 III 17	Whirlwind snatches up men and *horses*.	cf. Eth. p. 159

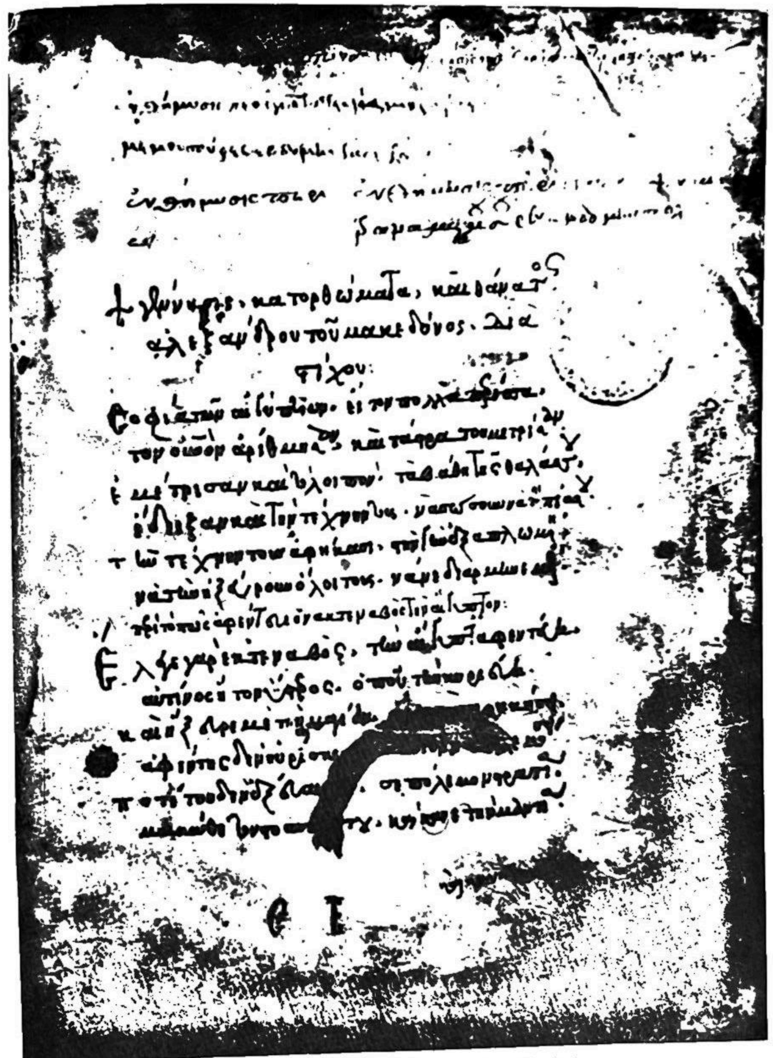
Reference	Element not in A/β	Other witnesses
2143–4 III 18	They came, as we said before, to Persis and all the soldiers were well-armed.	
2155–60 III 18	Al.'s letter to Candace (much modified).	(cf. Byz. 5030–1)
2161–2 III 18	Then he sent the letter to her and Candace read it.	(Syr. p. 118) cf. Byz. 5034–5
2166–72 III 18	Introduction matter in Candace's reply to Al.	
2203–4 III 19	He was hastening to the Amazons with his army, his wife and family.	Syr. p. 119 Byz. 5077–8 (Eth. p. 191)
2217–8 III 19	«Now your army has captured me. Do what you will with me».	
2228–30 III 19	Ptol. told *Candaules* to recite his story and he did so.	
2237–8 III 20	«...because Candace has sent you many gifts and you must remember them in the hour or need».	
2267–8 III 20	Candaules sought from Al. the favour of letting him take «Antigonus» home with him.	Arm. 234 cf. Eth. p. 196 cf. Syr. p. 121
2293–4 III 21	They all greeted «Antigonus», then Candaules.	(Comes later in A / β)
2295–8 III 21	Candaules talks to his mother - in *direct* speech.	
2303–4 III 21	They did Al. great honour and all rejoiced to see Candaules.	
2311–2 III 22	She took Al. by the hand and joyfully led him into the house.	
2339–40 III 22	«These were made by Greeks».	(misunderstanding)

Reference	Element not in A/β	Other witnesses
2355–60 III 22	Candace's speech to Al. after recognising him - amplified with a gnomic expression added.	
2405–6 III 23	He says to him, «Your grudge is against Al.».	
2411–8 III 23	«If you kill me Al. will seek my revenge. But let me bring him to you and then you can have your revenge on him».	
2447–8 III 24	«As for your death, know this: your life is brief».	
2497–8 III 25	«We are unnaturally strong in battle and invincible».	
2525–6 III 26	«I do not condescend to begin war with you; I only wish to frighten you».	
2531–4 III 26	«Send me some of the things from your country and let them be beautiful. If you do not want me to rule you, I will destroy you all».	(Eth. p. 213) (D)
2551 III 26	Al. went to the Amazons.	Eth. p. 215 cf. Syr. p. 130.
2598–9 III 27	«They brought me 1500 brave women and took back the others».	
2657–78 III 30	Episode of monstrous child told in first person as part of letter.	P Byz. 5814 ff. cf. Leo
2679–80 III 30	«From your son Al. May this find you and all the household well».	cf. Byz. 5889
2681–98 III 31	The death of Al. was on this wise, when his friends poisoned him. When he left Macedonia, he left Antipater to reign. (Antipater's quarrel with Olympias).	(Val. III 56) (Epit. 87)
2719–22 III 31	There were others in the conspiracy to poison Al. Let us leave these matters and begin about Al.	

Reference	Element not in A/β	Other witnesses
2753–6 III 31	Now let us return to the conspiracy - that profligacy! All of them were in the plot and when they saw Al. they rose to greet him.	
2761–2 III 31	Al. cries in pain to his «friends» (not direct speech in ps-Call.).	
2809–10 III 32	«Was it for this you brought us from Macedonia - to leave us orphaned in Babylon?».	
2813–4 III 32	Again the Macedonian army wept.	Eth. p. 344
2821–6 III 33	«As I see death approaching which none can escape, I leave love and forgiveness to all the world. Lest there be strife among my captains let each have a share of my territory.	
2844–6 III 33	...and France(!) and Italy. To Cassander I leave calm that he may rule all Castoria.	cf. Leo cf. Epit. (cf. Syr. p. 140)
2849–52 III 33	I leave Elykia to Philonas, to Python, Syria and all the regions around Mesopotamia.	cf. Syr. p. 140 cf. Epit., Leo, Barb.
2863–8 III 33	...Because Perdiccas has toiled much for me and always guided me in difficulties. I leave 4 principal rulers: Demetrius, Seleucus, Philip and Ptolemy.	(Hippolytus' Commentary on Daniel)
2877–8 III 33	To Athens send beautiful gifts and royal, dyed garments.	Arm. 274 Syr. p. 141 Leo III 32.4 Epit.
2905–8 III 33	In the land of Susa I leave Courus as ruler». When they read the will all the captains wept.	(Epit.)
2915–26 III 33	Death of Bucephalus.	cf. γ, late-Byz.
–	All the *Γνωμικά*.	

Τυπογραφεῖα Ε. Σφακιανάκης καὶ Υἱοὶ
Θεσσαλονίκη, Μητροπόλεως 102

PLATES



Cod. Meteorensis 445 (Metamorphoseos), f. 1r.



a) Woodcut illustrating v. 21ff. (ed. princ. *f. α ii*).



b) Philips dream (v. 153ff., ed. princ. *f. α v*).



a) Alexander riding Bucephalus (v. 307ff., ed. princ. *f. α viii*).



b) Horse-race between Alexander and Nikolaos (v. 431 ff. ed. princ. *f. β i*).

PLATE IV



a) Woodcut illustrating v. 21ff. (ed. princ. *f. α ii*).



b) Philips dream (v. 153ff., ed. princ. *f. α v*).

PLATE V



a) Alexander riding Bucephalus (v. 307ff., ed. princ. *f. α viii*).



b) Horse-race between Alexander and Nikolaos (v. 431 ff. ed. princ. *f. β i*).